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THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

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THE
NORTH
AND
THE
SOUTH
A HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT
DIVISION
IN AMERICA

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THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

SLAVERY AND THE UNION.

It seems to be time, in view of the circumstances in which the country is now placed, and of the great controversy respecting slavery revived by Pierce and Douglas, and their southern allies in the extinct Whig party of the South, the Badgers, the Joneses, and the Claytons—a controversy whose conclusion no man can foresee—it is time, we say, to examine the point of which the South makes the greatest account, which it constantly employs by way of both defence and offence, and without which, indeed, it would often be difficult for southern champions to have anything to say at all. This point is succinctly expressed in the following extract from *The Union, Past and Future*, a pamphlet published at Charleston, in 1850, widely circulated at the time, and since republished, in whole or in part, in various other places throughout the Southern States:—

“The North possesses none of the material elements of greatness, in which the South abounds, whether we regard the productions of the soil, the access to the markets of the world, or the capacity of military defence. While the slave States produce nearly everything within themselves, the free States will soon depend on them even for food, as they now do for rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton—the employment of their ships in southern commerce, the employment of their labor in the manufacture of southern cotton, and all that they can purchase of other countries with the fabrics of that great southern staple. We have shown that the price of that staple must be permanently raised: how would the manufacturing industry of the free States stand this rise, *if their taxes were raised by a dissolution of the Union, and how would their laborers subsist under this new burden, if they at once lost the employment afforded by the free use of one hundred and forty millions of southern capital, and the disbursement of twenty millions of southern taxes?* The answer to this question will bring us to the last view we shall present of our subject, and will show that the *Union has, in truth, inestimable worth for the North.* It defies all the powers of figures to calculate the value to the free States of the conservative influence of the South upon their social organization.”

The Union, past and future: how it works and how to save it.

Few ideas are more widely disseminated or more deeply seated among our southern friends than that which is here inculcated—the oppression of the slaveholding States for the benefit of the free ones. Few errors are of more universal acceptance than is the belief throughout all the country south of Mason and Dixon’s line that the prosperity of the North is due to its connection with the South, and that a continuance of that connection is to the former a matter of absolute necessity if it would avoid returning to the “original poverty and weakness” that must inevitably result from a dissolution of the Union. To northern men, such an event, as we are told, would be fatal, because it would be followed by an increase of taxation, a diminished demand for labor, and diminished power to command the capital of the South, accompanied by increased difficulty in finding freight for their ships, or raw

materials for consumption in their factories and mills. To them, therefore, the Union is, according to universal southern authority, "of inestimable worth;" whereas a dissolution of the Union would, to the South, be fraught with blessings. Once separated from the North, says our pamphlet—

"Her trade would revive and grow, like a field of young corn, when the long expected showers descend after a withering drought. The South now loses the use of some 130 or 140 millions a year of her capital, and also pays to the federal government at least 26 millions of taxes, 23 of which are spent beyond her borders. This great stream of taxation continually bears the wealth of the South far away on its waves, and small indeed is the portion which ever returns in refreshing clouds to replenish its sources. Turn it back to its natural channel, and the South will be relieved of 15 millions of taxes—to be left where they can be most wisely expended, in the hands of the payers; and the other 11 millions will furnish salaries to her people and encouragement to her labor. Restore to her the use of the 130 or 140 millions a year of her produce for the foreign trade, and all her ports will throng with business. Norfolk and Charleston and Savannah, so long pointed at by the North as a proof of the pretended evils of slavery, will be crowded with shipping, and their warehouses crammed with merchandise. The use and command of this large capital would cut canals; it would build roads and tunnel mountains, and drive the iron horse through the remotest valleys, till 'the desert should blossom like the rose.'"

Four years have now elapsed since the publication of this pamphlet, and with each and every day of those years, these ideas have obtained stronger hold on the southern mind, until at length we find them now repeated from every quarter of the slaveholding States. In all, the continuance of the Union is now regarded as the one great *necessity* of the North—as the condition of its existence as a thriving and prosperous community. All that northern people desire, as we are told by the *Charleston Mercury*, is "power and gain," and to secure these they *must* cling to the Union as the sheet-anchor of all their hopes. With the South, on the contrary, the great necessity is dissolution, and if the Union is to be maintained it can be so only on condition that southern men shall be the masters of its policy, both external and internal. The North may wince, but it *must* submit. Even now, on account of the *Nebraska Bill*,

"They threaten us," says the *Mercury*, "with a great northern party, and a general war upon the South. If they were not mere hucksters in polities—with only this peculiarity, that every man offers himself, instead of some other commodity, for sale—we should surmise that they might do what they threaten, and *thus bring out the real triumph of the South, by making a dissolution of the Union necessary*."

"But they will do no such thing. They will bluster and utter a world of swelling self-glorification, and end by knocking themselves down to the highest bidder. To be sure, if they could make the best bargain by destroying the South, they would set about it without delay. But they cannot. *They live upon us, and the South affords them the double gratification of an object for hatred, and a field for plunder.* How far they may be moved to carry their indignation at this time, it is impossible to say; but we may be sure they will cool off just at the point where they discover that they can make nothing more out of it, and *may lose*."

"The real triumph of the South" would, as we are here told, be found in the adoption by the North of such a course of policy as would make "a dissolution of the Union necessary." Therefore, the South may demand what it pleases, and the North must yield all that is demanded, on penalty of separation. "It is sufficient reason," says the *Columbia Times*, "for demanding the passage of the *Nebraska Bill*, that it excites the hostility of abolitionists and free soilers." That it does so is regarded as evidence that the measure "is right and proper, and therefore to be supported." Let the North fume and fret, it dare not dissolve that Union to which it is indebted for all its "power and gain." We make another quotation from the *Charleston pamphlet*, as follows:—

“The fall of wages,” as we are assured, “would be heavy and instantaneous were the Union dissolved, for that event would, as we have shown, not only throw 20 millions of dollars of new taxes upon the North, but would withdraw 140 millions of capital which now employs her labor. This loss would fall chiefly, if not entirely, upon wages. The northern capitalist would not submit to a decrease of profit, but would send a part of his capital to the South, where profits were higher, until he had reduced wages at home to a point which would leave him nearly as much clear gain on his industry as before. He would in this way escape the whole burden of the new taxes, and throw it upon labor.”

Northern politicians repeat this doctrine, assuring their fellow-citizens that safety and prosperity are indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the Union. That it may be maintained, slavery must be tolerated in all the territory open to settlement and organization. If this be not done, the South, as we are assured, will secede. Some of these politicians, “for the sake of candor,” admit that, but a few years since, they did desire to preserve a portion of the common territory exempt from slavery; but, as they assure their southern friends, they are now most penitent, and gladly admit the error of their former course. “Thank God, we failed!” was the pious exclamation of one of these gentlemen recently before the Senate, waiting confirmation in the honorable office of *Chargé d’Affaires* to Portugal. Anxious to *earn* his office, he gladly proclaimed his penitence. Had *we* succeeded, as he told his countrymen, the South would have seceded from the Union. Such was the cry in 1820; such was it in 1830; such was it in 1850. Such it now is, and such it will be when the South shall *demand* the repeal of all the laws which prevent the introduction of slaves, as such, into the free States, and those other laws by which the African slave-trade is prohibited, and all concerned in it are declared pirates. The proverb tells us that, “little by little the bird builds its nest.” Those who will study the course of proceeding from the days of Jefferson and Madison, to the present time, will scarcely fail to see that the nest *has* been built “little by little” until it has arrived almost at the point of completion—that it now needs little more than to be finished by the passage of a brief law declaring that slaves may be *purchased anywhere and carried everywhere*—and that, “to this complexion we must come at last,” if, as southern and northern politicians now unite to assure us, a continuance of the union is to the people of the North a matter of absolute necessity.

More than thirty years since, southern men commenced their threats of dissolution. More than thirty years northern men have been engaged in “saving the Union,” and to accomplish that object they have not only yielded all that has been claimed, but have crouched before the men that spurned them. Throughout all that period they have, to use the words of the *Charleston Courier*, exhibited the “base cupidity and servile truckling and subserviency to the South,” which, as that journal informs its readers, prevail “almost universally” throughout the northern States, and with what result? For an answer to this question we refer our readers to the following comments upon the Rev. Mr. Parker’s recent discourse which, as the *Courier* assures its southern readers—

“Truthfully, as well as strongly, detail and depict the various occasions on which southern interests have obtained the mastery in Congress, or, at least, important advantages, *which are well worthy the consideration of all who erroneously suppose that the action of the general government has been, on the whole, adverse to slavery.* The truth is, that our government, although hostile, in its incipiency, to domestic slavery, and starting into political being with a strong bent towards abolition, yet afterwards so changed its policy that its action, for the most part, and with only a few exceptions, has fostered the slaveholding interest, and swelled it from six to fifteen States, and from a feeble and sparse population to one of ten millions.”

Harsh as this may sound to northern ears, it is yet most true, and it affords to its southern author full warrant for complimenting "the sons of the South" upon their unwavering "fidelity to their own interests," real, or supposed. What, however, shall we say of the sons of the North—the "hucksters in polities," always ready, as the *Mercury* assures us, to "knock themselves down to the highest bidder" for northern men with southern principles? Can we say of them other than that their cause has generally been marked by "cupidity, truckling, and subserviency to the South," by aid of which the latter has acquired a degree of control over the operations of the Union never contemplated by the men who framed the Constitution?

Sixty-five years since, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, there existed throughout the Union scarcely any difference of opinion on the question of slavery. Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin, Hamilton and Madison, Jay, Randolph, and Pineyway, all equally regarded it as a blight and a curse, to be exterminated at as early a period as was consistent with proper regard for the interests of those by whom the slaves were held. The policy of the government then inaugurated tended, as the *Courier* informs its readers, "towards abolition." Twenty years later, the same opinions were still held by southern men, as was shown by the debates in Congress on the subject of slavery in the territory of Indiana. The war of 1812, directed by Madison and Monroe, was emphatically a war of the southern and middle States, having for one of its objects an enlargement of the free territory of the Union. Virginia did not then object to the annexation of Canada, but at that time none had yet undertaken to prove slavery among the people to be required for the establishment of perfect freedom among their masters. None had then undertaken to show that "the love of true liberty and manly independence of thought" could exist in no communities except those in which men, their wives, and their children were bought and sold like cattle in the market. The discovery of this great political truth was reserved for the generation that has succeeded the one which gave to the world such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison.

That, in the outset, the tendencies of the nation were "towards abolition," is most true. Equally true is it that for the last thirty years they have been in the opposite direction, and, in so asserting, the *Courier* is sustained by facts. With difficulty the territory north and west of Missouri was secured to the free States as their share of the Louisiana purchase. Since then, Florida has been purchased by the Union *for the South*, and Texas has been purchased by the Union *for the South*. At the cost of an expensive war, *made by the South*, and for Southern objects, a portion of the Mexican territory has been added to the Union, and nothing but "squatter sovereignty" secured any part of it to the occupation of Northern men. Cuba is now to be purchased, at the cost of a hundred millions, *for the South*. The Gadsden treaty, at a cost of twenty millions, secures more territory *for the South*.

What, in all this time, has been purchased for the North? Nothing! Not even a foot of land! When we had a dispute with England about the boundaries of Maine, that State was left to compromise as best she could. When the boundaries of Texas were to be settled, an army was sent to the State, and, when collision had been thus produced, war was declared "to exist;" and that war was prosecuted until we had spent almost a hundred millions, and had added a vast amount of territory on the south-western side of the Union. At the North all is different. Canada, and the other British possessions, with their two and a half millions of people, would not be admitted into the Union were they to offer themselves free of cost; nor *do* any

Northern politician even hint at the idea, because it would rain him with the South. The area of slavery must be enlarged at any cost, but that of freedom must not, even when it can be done with profit to ourselves. Worse, however, than this, the North *dares not* even recognize the existence of freedom in any community the members of which are suspected of having African blood in their veins. We can have no commercial treaty with the people of Hayti, because they are black, and are not liable to be seized and sold. We dare not recognize the Republic of Liberia, lest it might offend the South. Look where we may, the South dictates the policy of the whole Union, the action of whose government has, as the *Courier* correctly assures its readers, "fostered the slave-holding interests, and swelled it from six to fifteen States," and now proposes to swell it still further, by repealing the Missouri Compromise and purchasing Cuba.

Has this policy tended to cement the bonds of union? It would seem not; for, while the great mass of the American people, north of Mason and Dixon's line, have remained fast and firm in the faith of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and have carried their ideas into practical effect by abolishing slavery, those south of the line have been gradually taking up a new faith, which teaches that the relation of master and slave is of divine origin, and is to be maintained now and for evermore. "Divine Providence, for its own high and inscrutable purposes," has, as we are told by the Charleston pamphleteer—

"Provided the whites of the Anglo-Norman race in the Southern States with the necessary means of unexampled prosperity, with that slave labor, without which, as a general rule, no colonization in a new country ever has or ever will thrive and grow rapidly; it has given them a distinct and inferior race to fill a position equal to their highest capacity, which, in less fortunate countries, is occupied by the whites themselves."

To preserve this state of things, and maintain the existing "domestic institutions" of the South, is, as the same writer informs us, one of the chief duties of government, and a system based upon such institutions "becomes instinct with life and healthy vigor." "Public opinion," then, as he says, "works in its true calling, as the moderator, not the silencer of individual differences;" and a community thus established presents, as Mr. Calhoun was accustomed to assure his friends, the most perfect form of society the world has ever yet seen. It is under such circumstances that we are to find the highest organization, and for this, as we are told by our pamphleteer—

"The Southern States have peculiar, and wellnigh indispensable advantages in their slave institutions, which forever obliterate the division between labor and capital."

We see thus that the North and the South are steadily moving in opposite directions; the one becoming more averse to slavery, and the other more enamored of it. Differences in the modes of thought increase from day to day. Southern men now require Southern school-books for their children, and Southern teachers for themselves. The ties that once united the different sections of the great Methodist Association have been broken, and already, in other churches, there are differences that *must* eventually lead to separation. Southern planters seek to have Southern conventions, and decline to attend those to which are invited the agriculturists of the Union. Southern commercial conventions are held with a view to measures for avoiding Northern cities. Southern political conventions precede the dissolution of the ties which formerly connected Southern and Northern Whigs, and Southern and Northern Democrats. From year to year the tendency, in and out of Congress, is to

wards sectionalism; and such being the case, there would seem now to be some propriety in examining how far the Northern States depend upon the South for their prosperity and their existence, and how far the menace of disunion, supposing it is earnestly meant and may really be carried out, ought to be regarded by them with anxiety or alarm. That question we shall take an early occasion to consider.

RELATIVE POWER OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

North of Mason and Dixon's line, of the Ohio, and of the Missouri line, there are fifteen States, in all of which slavery is prohibited. South of Maryland and Missouri there are twelve States in which slavery is regarded as a blessing. Between these two great blocks of States lie three whose position it is required here to examine, to wit:—

	Free population.	Slave.	Total.
Delaware	87,719	2,688	90,407
Maryland	485,946	89,204	575,150
Missouri	605,140	87,767	692,907
 Total	 1,178,805	 179,659	 1,358,464

Slavery exists in all of these, but the proportion of slaves to free is, as our readers see, but little more than one to seven. The tendencies of the majority must, therefore, be in the direction of a Northern Union, and their interests carry them necessarily towards the North. Maryland is fast becoming a mining and manufacturing State, and the policy of the North favors diversification of employment, and thus furnishes a market for coal and iron that cannot be obtained in the South. Baltimore has a large trade with the West, and the largest portion of it, that which she has made the greatest efforts to secure, lies north of the Ohio; and it is in that quarter augmentation is most rapid. Her slaves are few in number, and, in the event of separation, she would have the guarantee of the North for their possession during the period of preparation for gradual and quiet emancipation; whereas, were she in a Southern Union, but few would remain at the close of a single year from the date of separation from Pennsylvania. Her union with the North is one, therefore, not to be dissolved; and Delaware, of course, accompanies her, and becomes a part of the Northern Union. So, too, with Missouri. Her interests look eastward, and not southward. Railroads are rapidly uniting her with the cities of the Atlantic coast. Her farmers and miners look eastward for a market for their products. Her chief city looks westward and northward, and not southward, for its trade. Her slaves are few in number, and cannot be retained if Iowa and Illinois constitute a portion of another Union. It may, therefore, be regarded as absolutely certain that, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, these three States will remain connected with the North. What would be the course of Kentucky and Western Virginia it is somewhat, though we think not very much, more difficult to determine. Both would have very strong reasons for pursuing the same course with Maryland and Missouri; but for the present we will assume that they will go with the South, and that the following is the proper classification of the States:—

In the North are—New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, and Minnesota, now soon to become a State. In the South—

Virginia and the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas.

	States.	Free population.	Slave.	Total.
North . . .	20	14,800,000	178,000	14,978,000
South . . .	12	5,200,000	3,000,000	8,200,000

Such were the proportions at the date of the census now nearly four years old; but since then they have been materially changed. The vast immigration of the last four years, coupled with the natural increase, must have swelled the population of the Northern set of States to little less than seventeen and a half millions; while the natural increase, and a small immigration, have probably carried the number in the Southern one to nine millions. The total population of the Union in 1840 was scarcely greater than is that of the States which, in a sectional division, must constitute the North.

It is charged that the North lives upon the South, that its prosperity results from the vast trade furnished by the South, and that it could not prosper if separated from the South; and these are the charges it is proposed now to examine. If they are well founded, and if the North owes to its Southern connection all its "power and gain," it may be well to submit to all the demands of the South "rather than return to their natural poverty and weakness by dissolving the Union;" but, before doing this, it would be well to be assured that the facts are really so. We believe they are not, and are disposed to think that our readers will, at the close of the examination, agree with us in this belief.

The "gain" from a customer is dependent altogether on his power to purchase; and this is, in its turn, dependent on his power to sell. The man who sells his day's labor for a dollar cannot be a customer to the storekeeper to a greater extent than a dollar per day. The farmer who has only 100 bushels of wheat to sell cannot purchase more than the value of those bushels. The planter who has but twenty bales of cotton to sell cannot purchase more goods than they will pay for. So is it with communities. Their power to purchase is limited by their power to sell. Such being the case, it would seem to be obvious that trade among the people of the North must be of vastly greater extent than among those of the South. In the latter, labor is not held in honor among white men, and slaves, as is well known, do but little work. Under such circumstances, we might, we think, fairly assume that the efficiency of Southern labor was not more than half as much per head as that of Northern labor; and, if so, as the population of the Northern section is almost double that of the Southern one, it would follow that the productive power of the North was four times greater than that of the South; and that it is not only so, but that the difference is even greater than this, can, as we think, readily be established. Commencing with the agricultural productions, we offer our readers the following facts derived from the census, begging them, once for all, to remark that, in the statements we shall furnish, the division between the North and South will be made in conformity with that of States and population given above:—

		Northern States.	Southern States.
Wheat	bushels	80,000,000	20,000,000
Barley and rye	"	17,000,000	1,000,000
Oats	"	105,000,000	45,000,000
Buckwheat	"	9,000,000	...
Indian corn	"	294,000,000	298,000,000

		Northern States.	Southern States.
Potatoes (white and sweet)	"	62,000,000	12,000,000
Rice	tons	...	100,000
Cotton	"	...	500,000
Hay	"	13,000,000	1,000,000
Butter and cheese . . .	"	182,000	27,000
Hemp	"	16,500	18,500
Wool	pounds	42,000,000	10,000,000
Flax	"	4,000,000	4,000,000
Tobacco.	"	53,000,000	146,000,000
Hops	"	4,000,000	...
Beeswax and honey . . .	"	14,000,000	700,000
Maple sugar	"	32,000,000	2,000,000
Cane "	"	...	247,000,000
Molasses	gallons	1,000,000	12,000,000
Orchard & garden products	dollars	12,000,000	2,000,000
Animals slaughtered . . .	"	62,000,000	47,000,000

An examination of the above can scarcely fail to satisfy our readers that it is exceedingly inaccurate and unfavorable to the North. The export of animal food from the region north and west of the Ohio is twice, if not thrice greater than that from the region south and east of it; while the quantity consumed in the North must be six times greater. Such is the case, too, with orchard and garden produce. A single cent per day, per head, expended by the people of New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, would amount to over four millions of dollars, or one-third of the whole amount here set down for a population of fifteen millions of people. The cause of error at the North is, as we think, readily seen. Where there are thousands of small proprietors, from each of whom a statement is to be obtained, the difficulty is far greater than when a single person represents a family of one, two, or three hundred hands, all of whose products go into one common treasury. Admitting, however, the returns to be correct, we will now furnish a comparative view of the products of the two different sections of the Union.

The northern excess of hay is 12 millions of tons, and the southern product of cotton and rice is 600,000 tons, or one-twentieth as much in quantity. The average value of the latter commodities being less than twenty times the average of the former, it follows that the hay more than counterbalances the cotton and the rice. Hemp, flax and corn, as the reader sees, balance each other. Leaving these, then, out of view, we have the following excesses:—

NORTH.	SOUTH.
Wheat	60,000,000 bush.
Rye and barley .	16,000,000 "
Oats	60,000,000 "
Buckwheat	9,000,000 "
Potatoes	50,000,000 "
Butter and cheese	155,000 tons.
Wool	32,000,000 lbs.
Beeswax and hay .	13,000,000 "
Orchard and gar- den products . . .	\$10,000,000
Animals slaughtered	\$15,000,000

Value, \$195,000,000

Value, \$22,000,000

The total value of the principal products of southern agriculture, for that year, is thus given in De Bow's Review, 3d series, vol. ii. p. 141:—

	Exported.	Home Consumption.	Total Products.
Cotton . . .	\$71,984,616	\$33,615,384	\$105,600,000
Tobacco . . .	9,951,223	5,048,777	15,000,000
Rice . . .	2,631,887	400,000	3,031,887
Naval stores .	1,142,713	800,000	1,942,713
Sugar . . .	23,037	12,396,150	12,419,187
Hemp . . .	5,633	690,207	695,840
 Total, . . .	 \$85,739,109	 \$52,950,518	 \$138,689,627

The average value of Indian corn for that year is given at 45 cents; but the distance from market and the difficulty of communication throughout the South, reduce it below this average. If we take it at 33 cents per bushel, we shall probably be in excess of the truth, and this would give for the whole Southern crop	\$98,000,000
Add to this for the animals slaughtered	47,000,000
For the other products of agriculture	50,000,000

And we obtain the total value of agricultural products	\$333,689,627
If we now add to this, for manufactures and for the product of labor in all other pursuits, one-half of this amount, say	\$166,310,373

We obtain as the total southern product, exclusive of the negroes raised, which constitute so important an item of southern produce	\$500,000,000
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This, we think, is rather in excess of the truth, but if true, it would give an average product of about sixty dollars per head.

In comparing with this the northern product, it is to be borne in mind that the northern farmer is, in most cases, much nearer market, and always provided with much better means of intercourse. The corn that is worth, in Texas, fifteen cents, becomes worth sixty cents by the time it reaches Massachusetts, and the farmer of the latter obtains as much for one bushel as the farmer of the former obtains for four; and this is true, to a greater or less extent, with reference to all the products of agriculture. The prices of cotton, tobacco, rice, &c. above given, are their prices at the ports from which they are exported, and include all charges up to the time of shipment, even to warehouse rent and broker's commission on the sale.

To make a fair comparison of the agricultural operations of the two sections, it would be required to pursue a similar course with the North, taking the value of their products at the place of sale; and were this done, it would be found that the excess in that was so far greater than in quantity that it would be safe to estimate its agricultural production at much more than double the amount above given for the South, or at least \$900,000,000, making a total somewhat exceeding \$1,200,000,000.

The South, however, makes its exchanges but once in a year, while at the North, because of the proximity of markets, exchanges are repeated from month to month, throughout the year. The market-gardener furnishes cabbages and potatoes, peas and beans, to the man who converts them into coal. Thence they go, as coal, to another, who converts them into pig-iron; thence to the rolling-mill, whence they come out as bars; thence to the shops from

which they come out as axes, spades, ploughs, or steam-engines; and thus there is a constant and unceasing motion in the produce of the North, and from this motion come the "power and gain," which by our southern friends are attributed to the Union. The manufactures of Massachusetts amount to not less than \$150,000,000. Her shoe manufacture alone is 37,000,000. Those of the city of New York, in 1850, amounted to \$105,000,000, and those of Philadelphia were fully equal, and probably greater. Those of Cincinnati were \$40,000,000. Pittsburg and Cincinnati must now considerably exceed a hundred millions. At the present time they are all very far greater in amount. The iron trade, in its various departments, from the smelting of the ore to the finishing of the steam-engine, cannot be estimated at the present time at less than \$130,000,000, nor the coal trade at less than \$20,000,000; the manufacture of ships is more than \$20,000,000; books, newspapers, magazines, and engravings, amount to many millions. Add to the infinite quantity of manufactures scattered throughout New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and other northern States, the mining of lead and copper, the enormous product of lumber, the ice trade, the production of houses, and the quantity of labor and manure applied to the improvement of land, while the South is everywhere exhausting its soil; and it will readily be seen how enormous is the production of the North as compared with that of the South. The earnings of canals, canal boats, and railroads are \$80,000,000; and if we estimate the value of the property carried at only ten times the cost of transportation, we obtain \$800,000,000. The tonnage of the North is little short of four millions, almost half a million of which is moved by steam; and if we take the gross earnings of this at only one dollar per ton, per month, we have nearly fifty millions, but they are probably considerably above a hundred millions. The *net* value of the property transported on the lakes and rivers, by canals, in coasters, and on railroads, is estimated by Mr. Andrews, in his Report on the Colonial and Lake Trade (p. 905), at \$3,120,000,000; but a very small proportion of which, as our readers have seen, comes from the South.

We here conclude for to-day our survey of these impressive and eloquent facts. We think our readers will agree that they show that the North is very powerful, and the South comparatively very weak, and that if either has reason to dread the day of dissolution it is that which is oppressed and debilitated by the curse of slavery. We shall next compare the effect of separation upon the commercial relations of the two sections.

THE COMMERCE OF NORTH AND SOUTH.

Seven years since, Mr. Walker estimated the total product of labor at \$3,000,000,000. Since then, the population has increased at least twenty-five per cent., and if the product had increased only in the same rate, it would now be \$3,750,000,000. Estimating it, however, at only \$3,250,000,000, and that of the South at \$500,000,000, we should have, as the product of the North, \$2,750,000,000, or about \$180 per head, and this is certainly not in excess of the truth.

We ourselves believe that this view is in a high degree unfavorable to the North, and such, we think, will be the opinion of all our readers who reflect to what a wonderful extent northern labor is aided by machinery, and to how small an extent that is the case with the South. A steam-engine capable of doing the work of twenty slaves can be purchased for the price of a single one, and fed at less cost than the single laborer. Steam-engines count by tens of

thousands, and the work performed by them is probably equal to the whole labor-power of the South. At the North human labor is everywhere economised, while at the South it is everywhere wasted. The natural consequence is, that capital accumulates at the North with vastly greater rapidity than at the South. The papers of the day inform us that the taxable property of Pennsylvania is valued by the revenue board of that State at \$80 millions, and if to this we add that which is not liable to taxation, we shall obtain a sum little less than a thousand millions, or more than the value in 1850 of all the land in the States above given to a southern Union. Aided by all this machinery, the *quantity* of northern production is immense, when compared with that of the South, and of this we could scarcely desire better evidence than is found in the fact that the merchandise carried on the Pennsylvania canal, and the Erie canal, alone amounts to five millions of tons, or ten times the weight of the crop produced in the ten cotton-growing States that have, with the exception of sugar, little else to give to the world in exchange for all they need to obtain. It is, we think, quite impossible to examine these facts without a feeling of surprise at the entire insignificance of the trade for which the North is indebted to the Union.

In estimating the "power and gain" to the North resulting from its union with the South, it is required that the reader should remark that *the whole* of their own vast product is in constant course of being exchanged among themselves; whereas, it is only the exchangeable *surplus* of the South with which the people outside of those States have anything to do. The man of New York derives no advantage from the corn that is fed in Virginia to the slave that is raised for exportation to Mississippi. The corn raised in Alabama appears abroad only in the form of cotton, while that of Louisiana comes to the North only as sugar or molasses. The whole exportable product of the South consists of cotton, tobacco, rice, naval stores, sugar, hemp, and some grain, chiefly from Virginia and North Carolina. The value of the first six, as given by De Bow, for 1850, was, as the reader has seen, \$138,000,000, fifty-three of which were for domestic consumption, and eighty-five for export. The cotton, sugar, and other commodities required for their own consumption, are to be deducted, and this would leave the northern consumption at about \$50,000,000. The mode in which these quantities are divided would seem to be as follows:—

Exported from southern ports, and paid for by imports into those ports from foreign countries	\$15,000,000
Exported from southern ports, and paid for by imports from, or through, the North	59,000,000
Exported from northern ports, and paid for from, or through, the North	9,000,000
Retained for consumption at the North	50,000,000
 Total	 \$133,000,000

From this, the reader will readily perceive that the total amount of trade from which the North can derive any "power or gain," is but \$118,000,000, or about four per cent. of its own productive power. The question to be settled is, however, not the total quantity, but how much of it is due to the Union, and how much would be lost by a dissolution of that Union. So far as the South exports and imports directly, the North has no more to gain from it than from the export of negroes to Alabama or Texas. Next, so far

as regards the *export* of fifty-nine millions to foreign ports from southern ones, it gains nothing by the Union, because northern ships enjoy in those ports no advantage over foreign ones, and they have, therefore, nothing to lose by secession. If a Boston ship will carry cotton as cheaply as an English or French one, she will have it to carry, and not else. Again, as regards the *export* of southern products from northern ports, there would seem to be little to lose, for the reasons for this trade would continue then to be the same as now. We import largely of men and other valuable commodities into northern ports, and can, under ordinary circumstances, afford to take return freight so cheaply as to offer an inducement to bring cotton and other southern products to northern ports on their way to Europe. So far as regards navigation, and the profits of the export trade, then, there would seem to be nothing whatever to be lost by separation.

The amount of southern products paid for by, or through, the North, would seem to be about \$118,000,000, of which the quantity required for consumption at the North is \$50,000,000. It is quite certain that this trade of *importation* for home consumption would continue, because we should certainly be willing to pay the highest prices, and the South would not decline to sell because the Union had been dissolved. As regards the *exportation* of goods to pay for them, the case would, however, be somewhat, though we think, not very widely different.

The South would then be in the same situation with Canada; with, however, this disadvantage, that the latter builds and sails ships, which the former does not, except to a very small extent. Even now, Canada looks anxiously to a market in the Union. She can send her wheat to England, duty free, either direct or through our ports; and yet the price is always lower on the north of the line than it is on the south of it, by the whole amount of duty. She can have direct trade with England, duty free, and yet she takes from us goods to the extent of five millions of dollars per annum in payment for her produce. With the South, the case is yet much stronger. Of all the articles of domestic production now sold to the South, a very large portion, including, of course, the products of the West, are cheaper than they can be obtained elsewhere, and we *must* continue to supply them. As regards foreign commodities, Boston will continue to import India goods; New York, teas; Philadelphia and Baltimore, coffee; and all will import the finer commodities of Europe, for the supply of the southern as well as the northern States that now constitute the Union. Many of these goods will be exported South in bond, as they are now exported to Canada and Cuba, but they *must* continue to pass through northern ports. Admit, however, what we believe to be impossible, that one-half of this one hundred and eighteen millions should be imported into the South directly from abroad, and that we should lose on this one-half, in commissions and profits of various kinds, twenty-five per cent., the total amount of "power and gain" to be lost by a dissolution of the Union would appear to be less than fifteen millions of dollars, or about eighty cents per head of the northern Union. Against this, however, there would be connected with our foreign trade, important offsets. Sugar would then be free as tea and coffee now are, and as we should be released from any necessity for interfering against the gradual emancipation of the slaves of Cuba, it may fairly be inferred that the trade with that island, and also with Brazil, would be greatly increased, and that we should derive from them nearly all the sugar, of which we take now to the amount of fourteen millions from the South. We should also be at liberty to recognize the free people of St. Domingo, and of Liberia, and our trade in those quarters would grow with great

rapidity. These would, to a great extent, make amends for diminution at the South, and would, as we think, lessen the loss to one-half, or about seven millions of dollars, at which sum, or forty cents per head, we feel disposed, after this examination, to estimate the pecuniary value of the Union to the North. What is the cost of that Union, we propose next to consider.

COST OF THE UNION.

The policy of the North looks homeward. Northern men seek no enlargement of territory, but they desire to render productive what they have. To accomplish that object they need canals, railroads, light-houses, and the removal of obstructions to the navigation of rivers, and for these latter purposes they have steadily and regularly asked the aid of Congress.

Southern policy looks outward. Southern men seek additions to their territory, but they do not endeavor to render productive what they have. Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and much of the Carolinas, and of Kentucky, have been exhausted by abstracting from the soil all the elements of production, and the occupants of their exhausted lands find themselves forced to seek abroad for new lands to be in their turn exhausted—and hence it is that the South is always on the watch to secure by war, or purchase, enlargements of its surface. Southern men, consequently, deny to the government the right of aiding in the construction of roads or canals, or of appropriating from the treasury any moneys to be used in the construction of light-houses, the formation of harbors, or the removal of obstructions from rivers; and it is to meet southern objections to governmental action that it is now proposed to establish a great system of local taxation calculated largely to interfere with the free circulation of men and merchandise throughout the Union.

Half a century since, the great territory of Louisiana was purchased, chiefly for the South. At the close of that long period the North has obtained from it but a single State, while the South has had already three, and now insists that the whole vast territory which yet remains unoccupied shall be thrown open to cultivation by slaves, and to ownership by the owners of those slaves. In 1820, the territory of Florida was purchased for the South, at a cost of seven millions of dollars, paid out by taxes imposed on property of the North and South. In the eight years succeeding that purchase—from 1821 to 1829—the annual expenditure of the government, exclusive of payments on account of the national debt, was but thirteen millions of dollars, and yet out of that small sum, considerable sums were appropriated to the Cumberland road, and other works of internal improvement.

The administration of Gen. Jackson succeeded that of Mr. Adams in 1829, and the expenditure rose in the first term to nearly seventeen millions, while in the second it was more than twenty-five millions, little if any of which was expended on any of those works of peace desired by the North, because the South had then determined that all such appropriations were violations of the Constitution. It was, however, deemed perfectly constitutional to swell the military and naval expenditure from eight millions, in 1828, to twenty-two millions, in 1836, because the object of that increase was the extirpation of the few and poor Seminoles of Florida, whose occupation interfered with the enlargement of the field for slave labor.

Mr. Van Buren followed, and in his period we find the expenditure to have been carried up to an average of thirty millions, no part of which was allowed to be appropriated to internal improvements asked for by the North,

while the Florida war was permitted to absorb enormous masses of treasure contributed by the people of the Union, North and South. In the first two years of his administration, the expenditure for military purposes averaged no less than twenty-one millions, and the total amount so expended in the four years, was sixty-eight millions, or sixteen millions more than was expended for all purposes by Mr. Adams. It was, however, for southern purposes, and *therefore* constitutional.

Under the succeeding administration, the total expenditure was reduced to twenty millions, or less than has been expended on the army and navy alone by Mr. Van Buren, while engaged in clearing out the Seminoles. The death of Gen. Harrison having thrown the executive power into southern hands, we find that twice during Mr. Tyler's occupation of the presidential chair, was the veto applied to bills intended to satisfy the just expectations of northern men anxious to improve the intercourse by the lakes and rivers of the West.

With Mr. Polk came the war for settling the boundaries of Texas and enlarging the area of slave territory, and now the expenditure rose to an average of forty-four millions, chiefly bestowed on the army and navy. Large, however, as was the amount to be expended, not a dollar could go for the promotion of the peaceful improvements of the North; for when, in 1845, Congress appropriated about a million of dollars for improvements on the lakes and western rivers, the bill was vetoed by Mr. Polk as unconstitutional; and when, in 1846, a still more modest bill was sent to him, appropriating only half a million to all such purposes, he *pocketed* it, and it failed to become a law. The same difficulty occurred in regard to a bill for the payment of the debt owing by the nation to the unfortunate claimants on account of French spoliations. Passed by Congress, it was vetoed by the President, because *inconvenient* to pay such claims while engaged in a war for the extension of territory on our southern and south-western borders. To secure that extension we had to support an expensive war, and finally to pay fifteen millions to the Mexican Government; but happily "squatter government" secured to the Northern States a portion of the territory for nearly all of which they had been required to pay.

Texas had been dragged into the Union by Mr. Polk, and in 1850 the people of the North were required to unite in paying ten millions for this enlargement of slave territory.

The expenditure seems now to be fixed at from forty to fifty millions of dollars, of which the military and naval department, exclusive of the contracts for mail steamers, require more than twenty, or *one-half more than was expended by Mr. Adams for all purposes*, internal and external. Having purchased Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and New Mexico for the South, we have but just escaped the payment of twenty millions for an enlargement of the area of slavery, accomplished by Gen. Gadsden, and yet not a dollar is likely to be obtained for removing obstructions from the great rivers of the West, or for improving the harbors of the lakes. Any amount may be lavished upon foreign missions, having for their object the removal of restrictions on the tobacco trades of France or Germany, because that interests the South; but the treasury is hermetically sealed against the claims of the North for any aid in developing the resources of its territory, or in facilitating intercourse between the States of the East and the West.

We beg our readers to reflect carefully upon these facts, and then to study how much expenditure would be required for a northern Union. We need scarcely any army, for we desire no extension of territory. We do not desire to add Canada to the Union, and were the offer of annexation at this moment

made it might not be accepted, while the South is always at work to obtain territory by purchase, or by force of arms. But recently, it offered a hundred millions for Cuba, to be paid out of the revenue contributed by all the States, and the chief reason for so doing was the danger that the slaves of that island might, at some future time, become free, and thus be placed in a situation that would render them dangerous to their slave-holding neighbors of Florida and Carolina. The North *dares not* even propose to accept, free of cost, the British possessions with two and a half millions of free inhabitants; and yet the South does not hesitate at buying Cuba at a hundred millions, nor would it hesitate about involving the whole country in a war that might cost twice that sum, for the purpose of preventing any movement in the island looking to the gradual enfranchisement of its negro population.

The North, as we have said, scarcely needs an army. It has but little need for a navy; but even admitting that five millions were required for that purpose, it is difficult to see how the expenditure of Mr. Adams could be much exceeded. The post-office of a northern Union would support itself at lower rates than those now paid, for we have thrice the amount of population capable of maintaining correspondence, and three times thrice the quantity of exchanges, while the organized territory of the South is greater by almost one half than that of the North. The diplomacy of a northern Union would require small expenditure, for we have nothing to ask for, and there is nothing for which we desire to fight. Northern policy looks, as we have said, always homeward, while that of the South looks always outward, as witness the constantly repeated invasions of Texas and of Cuba.

Admitting, however, that the expenditures of a northern Union should reach the sum of twenty millions, even that is less by five and twenty millions than its present amount—and not one-half of that excess is paid by the South. How, indeed, should it be? Nearly all our revenue comes from duties on foreign merchandise, of which slaves consume but little, and the poorer class of white people of the South consume but little more. Taking, however, the whole white population of the South, we have but five millions of consumers to put against thrice that number at the North; and if the consumption, per head, were equally great in all portions of the Union, their contributions would be but one-fourth of the whole, or about one-half of the twenty-five millions of excess expenditure. That the southern consumption, per head, will average less, and much less, than that of the North, no one can doubt; and it is, we think, quite as little to be doubted that the contributions of the South towards the revenue are less than ten millions of dollars—a sum not more than sufficient to pay *the mere interest* upon the sums expended in the purchase of southern land, and on the making of wars for southern purposes. We are now about to spend twenty millions more, and if Cuba can be had at a hundred millions, it will be bought—and the interest upon these two sums alone will amount to seven millions two hundred thousand dollars, or a large portion of the whole amount of contributions furnished by the South. The same men who now urge upon the whole Union these enormous expenditures for southern purposes, deem it so highly unconstitutional to appropriate a single dollar for the improvement of rivers and harbors, that to keep within the letter of the law they would violate its spirit by authorizing states, counties, cities, and towns to make improvements and charge tonnage duties upon ships and merchandise, by which Iowa and Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky, would be compelled to contribute largely in taxation for the promotion of the trade of New Orleans.

We are assured that all these expenditures are necessary to provide an out-

let for the rapidly growing negro population. Well! the land is purchased, and next, we are told that labor is scarce—that negroes are high—that it is unjust to permit Alabama and Texas to be taxed by Virginia to the extent of a thousand dollars for a negro, when as good an one can be brought from Africa for a hundred and fifty dollars—and that, therefore, we should re-establish the African slave-trade. Such is the tendency of things, and such is the end to which we are pointed at the close of much less than a century after the publication of the Declaration of Independence, in which it was asserted that all men were born “free and equal.” Prussia has emancipated her serfs, and Russia and Austria are now moving steadily towards the perfect enfranchisement of their people, but we of the North are paying many millions of dollars annually for the enlargement of slave territory, to end in re-establishing the infamous trade by which Africa was so long degraded and depopulated. At this moment, we are urged to expend several millions on the enlargement of our steam marine, and among the important reasons for this measure offered by Mr. Bocoek of Virginia, is, that “the latent spark” of freedom is likely now to blaze out in Cuba, when the “blood of Mr. Crittenden and his companion will not in vain cry for vengeance.” Should, however, the spark of freedom blaze out among the *laborers* of that island, their steamships will certainly be used for its extinguishment. Mr. Bocoek is for extending the area of slavery, and not that of freedom, and it is for that object he would have us build so many ships.

There are in the United States, as we are told, 234 colleges, with 1,651 teachers, 27,159 students, and an annual income of \$452,314 from endowments, \$15,485 from taxation, \$184,549 from public funds, and \$1,264,280 from other sources; making, in all, \$1,916,628. Of public schools, for common and academic education, there are 80,991, with 92,000 teachers, 3,354,173 pupils, and an income of \$182,594 from endowments, \$4,686,414 from taxes, \$2,547,669 from public funds, and \$2,147,853 from all other sources; reaching a total of \$9,591,530. Add these two sums, and we find an expenditure for popular education, in all its departments, of 11,508,158 of dollars. Of this, the proportion expended north of Mason and Dixon’s line is probably about not less than four-fifths, or more than nine millions of dollars, a considerable sum certainly, but *yet less than the interest on the expenditures for purchasing Florida and exterminating the Seminoles—for purchasing Texas and carrying on the war that was declared to “exist” when it was deemed desirable to enlarge the bounds of that State by seizing on New Mexico.*

Of the hundred millions already *offered by the South* for Cuba, four-fifths would be paid by the North; and if northern men desire to understand the object for which they are required to pay this enormous sum, they will obtain the information by reading the following passages from the *Richmond Enquirer*:

“Our view of the policy of this measure, as of *every other*, is determined by the *paramount and controlling consideration of southern interests*. It is because we regard the acquisition of Cuba as *essential to the stability of the system of slavery, and to the just ascendancy of the South*, that we consent to forego our habitual repugnance to political change, and to advocate a measure of such vast, and, in some respects, uncertain consequences. The only possible way in which the South can indemnify itself for its concessions to the anti-slavery fanaticism, is by the *acquisition of additional slave territory*. * * * We must reinforce the powers of slavery as an element of political control, and this can only be done by the *annexation of Cuba*. In no other direction is there a chance for the aggrandizement of slavery. The intrigues of Great Britain for the *abolition of slavery in that island* are pursued with a zeal and an energy which cannot fail of success, unless the United States interfere to prevent the consummation. The only

electoral mode by which this may be done, is *by the transfer of the island to the dominion of the States*. If we contemplate the possible alternative of the *disruption of the Union*, by the mad spirit of abolition, the necessity for the *acquisition of Cuba as a support to the South, becomes even more manifest and urgent*. With Cuba in the possession of an hostile interest, southern slavery would be exposed to an assault which it could neither resist nor endure. *With Cuba as a member of a great southern confederacy, slavery might bid defiance to its enemies.*"

The following pleasant and suggestive article is from *The Southern Standard*, an administration paper published at Charleston, South Carolina. It is a frank, bold statement of the policy of the administration upon the slavery question, which our readers will do well to look at by way of refreshing themselves. It will amply repay perusal:—

"A general rupture in Europe would force upon us the undisputed sway of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, with all their rich and mighty productions, guided by our genius and enterprise, a new world would rise there, as it did before under the genius of Columbus. With Cuba and St. Domingo, we could control the productions of the tropics, and, with them, the commerce of the world, and *with that*, the power of the world. Our true policy is to look to Brazil as the next great slave power, and as the government that is to direct or license the development of the country drained by the Amazon. Instead of courting England, we should look to Brazil and the West Indies. The time will come when a treaty of commerce and alliance with Brazil will give us the control over the Gulf of Mexico and its border countries, together with the islands, and the consequence of this will place African slavery beyond the reach of fanaticism, at home or abroad. These two great slave powers now hold more undeveloped territory than any other two governments, and they ought to guard and strengthen their mutual interests by acting together in strict harmony and concert. Considering our vast resources and the mighty commerce that is about to expand upon the bosom of the two countries, if we act together by treaty *we cannot only preserve domestic seritude*, but we can defy the power of the world. With firmness and judgment, we can open up the African slave-emigration, again to people the noble region of the tropics. We can boldly defend this upon the most enlarged system of philanthropy. It is far better for the wild races of Africa themselves. Look at the 3,000,000 in the United States who have had the blessings, not only of civilization but of Christianity. Can any man pretend to say that they would have been better off in the barbarian state of their native wilderness; and has not the attempt to suppress, by force, this emigration, increased the horrors of the 'middle passage' tenfold? The good old Las Casas, in 1519, was the first to advise Spain to import Africans to her colonies, as a substitute for the poor Indians, who, from their peculiar nature, were totally unsuited to bear the labors of slavery. Experience has shown that his scheme was founded in wise and Christian philanthropy. Millions of the black men, yet unborn, will rise up to bless his benevolent memory. The time is coming when we will boldly defend this emigration before the world. The hypocritical cant and whining morality of the latter-day saints will die away before the majesty of commerce, and the power of those vast productions which are to spring from the cultivation and full development of the mighty tropical regions in our own hemisphere. If it be mercy to give the grain-growing sections of America to the poor and hungry of Europe, why not open up the tropics to the poor African? The one region is as eminently suited to them as the other is to the white race. There is as much philanthropy in one as the other. We have been too long governed by psalm-singing schoolmasters from the North. It is time to think for ourselves. The folly commenced in our own government uniting with Great Britain to declare slave importation piracy. Piracy is a crime on the high seas, arising under the law of nations, and it is as well defined by those laws as murder is at common law. And for two nations to attempt to make that piracy which is not so, under the law of nations, is an absurdity. You might as well declare it burglary, or arson, or anything else. And we have ever since, by a joint fleet with Great Britain on the coast of Africa, been struggling to enforce this miserable blunder. The time will come that all the islands and regions suited to African slavery, between us and Brazil, will fall under the control of these two slave powers, in some shape or other, either by treaty or actual possession of the one government or the other. And the statesman who closes his eyes to these results, has but a very small view of the great questions and interests that are looming up in the future. In a few years, there will be no investment for the two hundred millions,

in the annual increase of gold on a large scale, so profitable and so necessary, as the development and cultivation of the tropical regions now slumbering in rank and wild luxuriance. If the slaveholding race in these States are but true to themselves, they have a great destiny before them."

As the first steps towards the accomplishment of these objects, we are now to convert the Mesilla Valley into slave territory, and to arrange for bringing the negroes of Cuba within the Union, and thus forever to prevent that island from becoming the property of free black men; and the mere annual interest of these two purchases—to say nothing of the additional army and navy that will be required—will amount to four-fifths of the whole amount now paid for educational purposes throughout free States of the Union.

Having studied these facts, we beg our readers now to remark how fully they bear out the statement of the *Charleston Courier* as to the error of those who suppose "that the action of the general government has been hostile to slavery." "The truth is," as it continues, "that although hostile in its incipiency, to domestic slavery, it afterwards so changed its action that it has fostered the slave-holding interest," and this it has done by taxing the free people of the North for the steady extension of the area of slavery, while denying the constitutionality of any expenditures tending to the improvement of the lands, or of the people, of the North and West.

Such is a portion of the cost of the Union. What is its value has been shown. On a future occasion we shall furnish some further items of the cost; but meantime will beg our readers to reflect whether a trade that cannot be worth a dozen millions per annum is not dearly paid for by the maintenance of a system that takes from the North so many millions annually to be applied to the purchase of southern land, and the support of southern wars, when they might so advantageously be applied to the improvement of rivers and harbors by which northern farmers could cheaply get to market, and the improvement of schools at which northern children might be cheaply educated.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

The history of the world from the earliest ages is little more than a record of the efforts of the strong who have desired to enslave the weak, and of the counter efforts of the latter to obtain power to work for themselves. The former have, in all ages, been large monopolists of land, while the latter have at all times sought to obtain homesteads to be improved for their own benefit and that of their wives and children. The former have always sought cheap laborers, desiring to purchase at their own prices, the bone, the muscle, and the sinew required for their purposes, selling at the dearest rate the produce of the labor of their slaves; while the latter have always desired to fix the price of their own labor, and to profit by their own exertions. By the former, honest labor has been held in low esteem, because they lived at the cost of those who labored in the field for the production of food or wool, and those in the town who consumed the food while making the cloth. By the latter, labor has been esteemed as a means of acquiring honest independence. In the former class we find the slave-owners, politicians, and tax-consumers of the world, while in the latter we find the laborers and tax-payers of the world. In the one we find the advocates of armies and navies, war and filibusterism, and in the other the friends of peace and cheap government. Between these classes there has, from time immemorial, been a contest for power; the one desiring to tyrannize over others, and the other to govern themselves, and to work for their own profit.

Such is the contest now in progress throughout this country. The great issue of our day is, as we are informed by the Charleston *Evening News*, "the extension or non-extension, of the institution [slavery] whose foundations are broad and solid in our midst." It is, whether free labor shall become slave labor, or slave labor become free labor. At the South, we see a body of great land-owners surrounded by slaves who work for them, while they themselves live upon the profits derived from standing between the men who work to produce cotton, sugar, and tobacco, and those other men who require to consume those commodities. At the North, on the contrary, we see the whole surface of the country divided among a body of small land-owners, unequalled in the world for number, all working for themselves. On the one side we have a large body of men who desire to buy labor, and wish to have it cheaply; while on the other there is a vastly larger body that desire to sell labor, and to sell it dearly. The objects sought to be attained by the two sections of the country differ as widely as do the poles of the compass, and it can, therefore, be matter of small surprise that there is almost as great a difference in the course of policy that each desires to see pursued—the northern portion of the Union seeking for protection against the cheap labor system of Europe, as the best mode of advancing the laborer, and the southern portion clinging to the British free trade system as the most efficient means of cheapening labor, and enslaving the laborer.

The men who own laborers are few in number when compared with the number of northern men who own themselves, and seek to sell their own labor; but, as is the case in all aristocracies, the slave owners almost always work together, while the free people are divided among themselves. The consequence of this has been that the former have generally, as the *Charleston Courier* boastingly informs its readers, "obtained the mastery in Congress," and have within the last twenty years "so changed its policy that its action for the most part, and with only a few exceptions, has fostered the slave-holding interest;" and this it has done at the cost of the free men of the North, who desired to be themselves the sellers of their own labor, or its products. In proof that such has been the fact, we propose now to review the votes of Congress in relation to the question of protection or non-protection to the American laborer.

The close of the great war in Europe brought with it intense agricultural distress. The foreign market for breadstuffs died away, and simultaneously therewith the domestic market that had been made by our manufacturing establishments was closed. The manufacturers themselves were ruined. The people of the South had then no doubts of the constitutionality of protection. Anxious to secure themselves against the competition of the people of India, they gladly united with those of the agricultural States in the establishment of a system of minimums upon cotton and woollen goods, and the bill for that purpose passed through the senate with but a single dissenting vote from south of Maryland. When, in 1818, it was proposed to prolong the duration of the protection thus afforded, Baldwin of Pennsylvania, Clay of Kentucky, and Lowndes of South Carolina, were found voting together in the affirmative.

The period that followed was one of ruin throughout the Middle and Northern States. Flour sold in Pittsburg at \$1 25 per barrel, while iron was so high that it required seventy, if not even eighty barrels of flour to pay for a ton of bars. From day to day, the farmers came more and more to appreciate the truth of Franklin's doctrines, as given in the following extract from one of his letters dated in 1771:—

"Every manufacturer encouraged in our country, makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the manufacutes he supplies. Here in England it is well known and understood that, wherever a manufacture is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land; and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufacturers to that part of the country. It seems, therefore, the interest of all our farmers and owners of lands, to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries."

From day to day it became better understood that Jefferson had been in the right when he declared that our true policy was to "place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist;" and thus it came that, in 1824, a new effort was made to protect the producer of food by bringing the consumer to his neighborhood. The tariff of that year was passed by the following vote:—

	For.	Against.
Free-labor States	88	32
Slave-labor " " " "	19	70
	—	—
	107	102

The vote against it from the free States was, to a great extent, from the shipping States of New England, while of the southern vote for it a large portion came from Kentucky, always the most northern in feeling of the slave States. Deducting the vote of the States immediately adjoining Mason and Dixon's Line and the Ohio, it will be found that the advocates of cheap labor went almost solidly against protection.

The tariff of 1828 followed, and here the vote was as follows:—

	For.	Against.
Free-labor States	88	29
Slave-labor " " " "	17	65
	—	—
	105	94

The period which followed the passage of this tariff was one of greater prosperity than this country had then ever known. The revenue was so abundant that it became necessary to abolish the duties upon coffee, tea, and various other commodities consumed by the laborers of the North; and yet, notwithstanding this reduction, the public debt which, at the opening of 1829 had stood at nearly sixty millions, was finally paid off in 1834.

The advocates of cheap labor had been, as we see, almost unanimous against the passage of this act, and almost equally unanimous did they prove in denouncing it after its operation had commenced. It was the tariff of "abominations" for them, for it tended to improve the condition of the laborer, and they desired to purchase bone, muscle, and sinew in the form of laborers. Mr. McDuffie undertook to prove, by his "forty bale theory," that the South paid all the expenses of government, and he and Mr. Calhoun finally succeeded in persuading the people of South Carolina that protection was unconstitutional, and that they had a right to nullify and set at defiance the law by virtue of which the revenue was then collected—and yet Mr. Calhoun had been, himself, one of the strongest advocates for protecting the cotton of South Carolina in our markets from all interference by the cotton of India.

Then, for the first time, did the people of the Union commit the serious error of recognizing the right of the minority to dictate law to the majority.

South Carolina, the State that, of all others, recognizes the existence of the smallest amount of rights among her own free white men—the State that of all others exhibits in its worst form the evils of an aristocracy—dictated to the Union that it should fall back from the ground it had occupied, and return to a strictly horizontal tariff of twenty per cent., abandoning at once and forever all idea of protecting the free cultivators of the North in their efforts to secure to themselves a home market for the products of their labor and their land. The compromise tariff of 1833 was passed, and thus the system that had been built up at the cost of so much effort, was almost at once prostrated. Slave-labor had carried the day against free-labor. The men who wished to buy laborers cheaply had achieved a victory over the men who wished to sell their own labor, and to sell it dearly.

It was a great mistake, and the consequences soon became apparent. Mills and furnaces were no longer built. Importations were large, and within four years the banks throughout the Union stopped payment. The ensuing four years were years of loss and ruin. The power to purchase foreign goods declined, and the revenue fell off so greatly that in less than nine years from the date of the final discharge of a public debt upon which we had been paying an interest of *three per cent.*, the agents of the government were seen knocking at the doors of all the banking-houses of London and Paris, Hamburg and Amsterdam, and asking for a loan at *six per cent.*, and asking it in vain. What were the losses of the people in those awful days we need scarcely state, for they are yet fresh in the recollection of most of our readers. It was then for the first time was heard in the streets of our cities—

The cry of sober, industrious, orderly men: “Give me work! only give me work: MAKE YOUR OWN TERMS—MYSELF AND FAMILY HAVE NOTHING TO EAT!”

Thousands and tens of thousands of such cases then occurred, and by those who can now recall to mind the state of affairs that then existed, it will not be deemed extraordinary that we should state our belief that the cost to the people of the free States of one such year as 1841-42, was more than the value of the trade with the slave States, for which we are dependent on the Union, in half a century. This state of things had brought with it, however, a remedy in the change of public opinion that had been produced. Mr. Van Buren, the “northern man with southern principles”—the advocate of the policy which looks to the extension of slavery—had been defeated, and the people called for a change of measures. Then, however, for the first time was the slave-labor policy advocated as a party measure, and in the division that then was had in Congress, the votes of both North and South were less unanimous than they previously had been, as is here shown:—

	For.	Against.
Free-labor States	83	49
Slave-labor	33	62
	116	111

The tariff of 1842 went into operation, and its effect was almost electric. Credit was re-established—mills and furnaces were built, and the people were once more enabled to purchase and pay for foreign merchandise. Public and private revenue increased, and within four years from the date of this triumph of the sellers of labor over those who desired to buy slave laborers, the prosperity of the country had attained a higher point than had ever before been known.

This, however, did not suit the advocates of the slave-labor policy. Then,

as now, they desired that the free laborer should be cheap, and a crusade was gotten up against protection, among the most active promoters of which were the people of Virginia, *whose chief manufacture is that of negroes for exportation*, and who are protected in this department of trade by an absolute prohibition of all competition from abroad. This prohibition they have always regarded as constitutional, because it enables them to sell negroes at a thousand dollars that might be imported from the Coast of Africa for a hundred, and yet they deny to the free laborer of the North any right to protection to further extent than can be obtained by aid of duties imposed exclusively with a view to the raising of revenue. To carry their views into effect, it was deemed necessary to extend the area of slavery by incorporating Texas within the Union—a measure that was carried out by aid of “northern men with southern principles,” so well described by the *Charleston Mercury*, as “hucksters in politics,” always ready to sell themselves and their constituents when the advocates of cheap labor are seen to need assistance. Texas in the Union furnished two senatorial votes, and by aid of those votes, added to the Senate in defiance of the Constitution, the tariff of '42 was repealed, and that of '46 substituted in its place. The advocates of slavery were thus triumphant, but the consequences to the free laborer of the North were speedily seen in a diminished demand for labor. Mills and furnaces were everywhere closed, and their owners were ruined; but the object of the South, the cheapening of free labor, was thereby accomplished.

In another paper we shall give some of the details of the working of this southern system; but, in the mean time, will ask our readers to reflect upon the fact that, for more than fifteen out of the last twenty years, the men who buy laborers, have had the control of the policy of the government, to the entire exclusion of the men who wish to sell their own labor. “Southern interests” have had, during that time, as the *Charleston Patriot* most truly observes, “the mastery in Congress,” and “the government, although hostile in its incipiency, to slavery, and starting into political being with a strong bent towards abolition, yet afterwards”—that is, since 1833—“so changed its policy that its action has fostered the slave-holding interest, and swelled it,” by aid of war or purchase, “from six to fifteen States, and from a feeble and sparse population to one of ten millions.”

How has this been accomplished? By aid of taxes paid by the North for the purchase of land in the South, and for the maintenance of the fleets and armies required for the protection of southern men and interests connected with the occupation of the lands so purchased. The people of the North have paid at least one dollar per head, per annum, more than would have been required had they stood alone, and this they have done that Florida might be purchased and cleared, and that Texas might be converted from free Mexican territory into one or more slave States; and they are now required to agree to the payment of a hundred and twenty millions for the conversion of the Mesilla Valley into slave territory, and for the prevention of the Africanization of Cuba. The more land they buy the greater will be the power of the South, and yet no northern politician *dares* propose to increase the power of the free laborers of the North by the acceptance, *in free gift*, of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas, with their two and a half millions of hard-working, instructed, and economical population. The South may *buy* land to be filled with slaves whose votes, through their masters, shall govern the North; but the latter may not *accept* land covered with men, because those men will then vote for themselves.

We see, then, that the Union is maintained at the cost of taxation to the

North twice greater than would be required for the North alone. It is maintained at the cost of relinquishing all right to self-government in this important matter of protection to free laborers. What is its value has been shown. We ask our readers to compare the forty cents per head gained by the Union with the many dollars per head that it costs, and determine for themselves the justice of the assertion of the South, that the continuance of the connection is of "such inestimable worth" to the North that, however disagreeable may be the purchase of Cuba or the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the bitter pills *must* yet be swallowed. And let them also determine what regard is to be paid to, and what terror is to be felt at, the menace of dissolution.

THE SOUTH AND NORTHERN INTERESTS.

The vast majority of the people north of Mason and Dixon's line has always believed with Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, that protection tended to increase the value of labor and land, and to enrich both laborer and land owner. Whether right or wrong in this, the votes of their representatives have, on all occasions, proved that the belief existed; and it does, certainly, exist to so great an extent that were a vote to be now taken on the question whether protection should be maintained or abandoned, apart from all other issues, an overwhelming majority would be found favorable to its maintenance. Such being their belief, it would seem to be right and proper that they should be enabled to act in accordance with it; and yet, although almost thrice as numerous as the whites of the slave States, they have rarely been allowed to exercise the slightest influence upon the action of government in reference to this most important subject. Why they have been so is, that in the slave States every white person votes for *his property* as well as for himself; while in the free ones men vote for themselves alone. In the House of Representatives, five millions of southern whites counterbalance seven millions of northern ones; and in the Senate, the taxes paid by the North for the purchase and protection of Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri, are represented by ten senatorial votes, and thus it is that southern *property* and northern contributions for its purchase are made to work for the enslavement of northern men.

At the date of the passage of the tariff of 1828, southern men like Madison and Jackson were still of the belief that protection was, in a high degree, advantageous to the country. The latter had then but recently given to the world, in the letter to Dr. Coleman, his opinion that the country had been "too long dependent on British merchants," and that all that was required for assuring its independence was, that we should adopt a policy tending to enable a few hundred thousand more persons to become consumers of agricultural products, thereby diminishing to the same extent the number dependent exclusively upon agriculture for subsistence. No one, however bigoted an advocate of British free trade, can, as we think, now read that letter without being strongly impressed with the correctness of the views of its distinguished author, southern as he was. Neither can any one compare the condition of the country in 1833 with that which had existed but half a dozen years before, without arriving at the conclusion that a continuance of what was then deemed the democratic policy would long before this time have placed the cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures in a condition no longer to need protection. The democracy of that time had, however, never heard of the idea that the existence of a servile class, whose members were liable to be bought and sold,

was essential to the maintenance of republican government. It has been since discovered by those South Carolina philosophers, at whose command the tariff of 1828 was repealed. That change was followed by speculation and bankruptcy, and by ruin to an extent rarely exceeded in any country—the consequence of southern policy. Once again, in 1842, did the northern policy of protection to the free laborer prevail, but years were then required to repair the damage that had been produced, and during those years the free cultivators had to suffer from the loss resulting from large supplies of food and wool, small markets, and consequent low prices of all they had to sell. Furnaces and mills were built, but time was required to build them, and when built, years were necessary for giving to those who worked in them the instruction needed for the advantageous performance of their duties. The skilled laborers of 1833 had been dispersed by southern policy, and thus had been sacrificed an amount of northern capital ten times greater than could be replaced in a similar time by the profits of southern trade. We beg our readers to look back and compare for themselves the high position occupied in 1833 with the degraded one in which the country stood in 1842, and then to determine if the losses of that period were not greater than would be compensated by even half a century of connection with a people who, being buyers of laborers, believe in the advantage resulting from the enslavement of the laborer.

In the five years that followed the passage of the act of 1842, the production of iron grew, as was stated by Mr. Walker, to more than 800,000 tons, or nearly four times the quantity produced in 1842. The consumption of cotton grew from 200,000 bales to half a million, and manufactures of all other kinds grew with vast rapidity. A demand was thus made for labor, to be applied to the building of mills and furnaces, the opening of mines, the construction of machinery, and to the making of cloth, iron, and other commodities, far exceeding a hundred millions of dollars a year; and the necessary result of this was, that there was no longer heard, as in 1841-42, the cry of "Give me work! Only give me work! Make your own terms, my wife and family have nothing to eat." On the contrary, the demand for labor of every kind, skilled and unskilled, increased so much more rapidly than the supply that wages rose greatly, and with every step in this progress, there was an enlarged power on the part of each member of this army of laborers to purchase the fruits of the farm, to the great advantage of the farmer. Never was a resuscitation so rapid and so complete; and it was a direct consequence of the exercise by the free people of the Union, of the right of the majority to direct the policy of the country. Free labor had this time triumphed over slave labor and its owners; but this did not suit the gentlemen who are now so anxious to insure the stability and permanence of slavery by giving a hundred millions of dollars for the purchase of Cuba, or making war to acquire it at still heavier cost.

The then existing policy tended to strengthen the free laborers, and therefore was it seen that it must be broken down; but this object could not be accomplished without an enlargement of the slave territory. Texas must be brought into the Union, as she would give two more Senators, representing a State in which men were held as property. That done, the Secretary of the Treasury found little difficulty in furnishing abundant arguments favorable to the slave-labor policy. Addressing himself to the farmers, he assured them that their revenues were largely decreased by the enormous advance on manufactured goods consequent upon protection; but when he spoke of the public revenue, he assured them that prices were falling, and there was danger that importations would fall off, and that a direct tax might be required for the mainte-

nance of the government. It was the fable of the wolf and the lamb over again. The free-labor policy was to be reversed, and if one reason would not answer, another could be made that would. The advocates of slavery had obtained power by aid of two votes dragged into the Senate in defiance of the Constitution, and for the purpose of depriving the people of the North of all control over their own actions in reference to the important question whether laborers should be slaves or freemen.

Four years later the production of iron had fallen below half a million of tons, when it should have reached twelve hundred thousand, if not a million and a half, and the domestic consumption of cotton had fallen off a hundred and fifty thousand bales, when it should have increased two hundred and fifty thousand, and would have so increased but for the determination of the slave power to direct the whole movement of the government. Before this day, the production of iron would have reached two millions of tons, and the consumption of cotton a million of bales, while the woollen and other manufactures would have attained a corresponding development, and we should now be independent of all the world for hundreds, if not thousands, of the commodities for which we have been giving bonds to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, until our credit has been so far affected that they can now with difficulty be sold, and only at prices so low as to secure the payment of enormous interest.

What, however, it will be asked, should we be doing with all this enormous mass of iron, cloth, and other commodities? In answer, we say that we should be consuming it. Had the manufacture of iron been permitted to grow as it was growing in 1846, the farmers and planters of the country would now be supplied at fifty dollars, instead of having to pay seventy or eighty, and they would be making two miles of railroad where now they are making one, and buying two dollars' worth of agricultural machinery for every one they now can purchase. Increased facilities for going to market, and the presence of markets among the mines, furnaces, and factories that would now be found among all the States from Maine to Texas, would be rendering their labor twice more valuable, and enabling them to purchase twice the cloth they now can buy. When men produce largely and exchange readily, they can consume largely. The only difficulty now in the way of doubling the consumption of manufactures, is the fact that more than half of the products of agricultural labor are eaten up in transportation to the place at which they are to be exchanged for iron and cloth. Were the mines of Missouri and Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania now in full operation, the farmers of those States would be producing far more than at this time they do produce, and obtaining twice as much iron and twice as much cloth for every bushel of grain they had to sell.

Of these mighty benefits, and of the increased power, freedom, and popular progress that would have resulted from them, the North has been deprived by the domination of slave owners in our national councils. And now the freemen of these States are called on to join in extending that domination, and giving it such power that it can never be removed. Will they lend themselves to the base and unholy schemes of those who would fain reduce all laborers to the weakness, ignorance, and stagnation of bondage?

PROTECTION AND SOUTHERN INTERESTS.

We are told, however, that protection is adverse to the interests of the men whose property consists of men, women, and children, and who raise cotton.

In answer, we say that the real interests of the South are as much promoted by protection as are those of the North, and that nothing but its absurd jealousy, and its determination to grasp at power, prevent its people from seeing that such is the fact. It is protection that has caused the domestic consumption of cotton to attain its present large amount, the consequence of which is, that the quantity required to be forced on the market of England has been so far lessened, and the price so far sustained. Were we now consuming a million of bales, as we should be doing had the tariff of 1842 been maintained, the quantity going to that market would be less by three or four hundred thousand bales than it is, and we should not now be called to record a daily decline of price, notwithstanding a diminution in the amount of crop. Protection has largely increased the market for cotton in France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Spain, while in the unprotected countries there has been no increase. The direct tendency of the free labor policy is to increase the market for cotton by increasing the number of its purchasers, and to reduce the price of cotton goods by increasing the number of persons who have cloth to sell. Every farmer knows well that the greater the competition among the millers the higher is the price of wheat, and the less the charge for converting it into flour. The object of protection is to increase the number of persons who require to *purchase* food and wool, and to *sell* iron and cloth.

Twenty years since, Germany exported almost all her wool, and imported nearly all the cloth and the iron she consumed. Now she converts her food and her wool into cloth, and the laborers who eat food and wear cloth convert her fuel and her ores into iron; the consequence of which is, that her own people are so cheaply supplied that they compete with England for the supply of foreign markets. That country has, fortunately for it, no slave power—no men who buy and sell laborers—and all feel that it is for their interest to enhance the value of the laborer. Throughout Germany, there is a constant tendency towards an extension of the area of freedom; whereas here, as the *Charleston News* informs us, the great question is, whether the area of slavery shall or shall not be extended. In protected Austria, serfdom has lately been abolished; whereas our whole energies are at this moment directed towards preventing the enfranchisement of the slaves of Cuba. Protected Russia has just diminished by one-third the labor required to be given to the owner of land; whereas we are anxious to enlarge the area of slavery by reintroducing it in the island of Hayti, as the means required for establishing, in its most perfect form, a republican government. Freedom grows in those countries in which the farmers are protected in their efforts to draw the mechanic to their sides, *and it grows nowhere else*; and therefore it is that British free-trade is advocated by the men who purchase bone, muscle, and sinew, in the form of laborers, and hold in such disesteem the freemen of the North, who sell their own labor.

It is said, however, that the South is taxed for the maintenance of these "hireling laborers" of the North. We, on the contrary, maintain that it is to the skill and industry of the North that the South is indebted for the maintenance of the price of cotton, and that, were they left to themselves, they would not obtain one-half the price at which it now is sold. Further, we maintain that it is greatly to Northern ingenuity they are indebted for the reduction in the price of cloth; and that, were they left to themselves, they would pay more for clothing their *property*, while obtaining less for their products. It is the North that stands between them and ruin. In protecting themselves for the purpose of obtaining a great domestic market, the farmers of the Middle and Northern States make no war against natural obstacles. Their water-powers are as good as those of Europe, and the coal and iron ore, by which

they are everywhere surrounded, are as accessible as are those of England; and the only difficulty they have to overcome is that of the time required for the perfect establishment of a manufacture, by the proper education of those required to be engaged in it. Skill in the production of iron or of cloth is not obtained in a day, but, when obtained, it is never lost, except where mills and furnaces are everywhere closed, as was the case, to so great an extent, under Southern policy, in 1836-'40, and 1848-'52. In both these cases, the work-people who had acquired skill were scattered to the four winds of heaven, and in both the work of instruction has required to be recommenced; and so will it ever be while the South shall continue to exercise its present control over all the operations of the government.

The farmers of the North know well that the nearer the market the greater is the value of their labor and their land; but whenever they undertake to govern themselves, and endeavor to bring the market to their doors, they are met with a demand to pay for more slave territory, to be used in depriving them of all power to act in accordance with their own views of their true interests. They are asked now to yield up Nebraska on one side, and purchase Cuba on the other, and for what purpose? To rivet their chains by making eight, ten, or twelve more slave votes in the Senate, that shall refuse them protection against a difficulty that tends steadily to diminish, while the advocates of slavery take for themselves protection against a natural obstacle that time can never either diminish or destroy. Cuba and Brazil have advantages for the growth of sugar that are entirely wanting in Louisiana and Texas, the States purchased by the government for the extension of the area of slavery. In the one, the cane is required to be planted but once in fifteen or twenty years, and the planter makes his crop at any time that suits him; whereas in the others it has to be planted annually, and must be cut before the frost; and yet the planter is well content with the protection against nature that he now enjoys, while denying the propriety of any protection to the Northern laborer, who wars not against nature, but only against those difficulties that time must unquestionably remove. The people of the North pay fourteen millions annually for the same quantity of sugar that they could have from Cuba and Brazil for ten; and this is really a tax upon them, for they enjoy no advantages resulting from it, whereas the people of the South profit by Northern protection, in obtaining more for their cotton and paying less than they would otherwise do for their cloth and their iron. In a Northern Union there would be no duty on sugar, and the gain to the people of the North from the abolition of this interference with the trade with Cuba, Brazil, Hayti, Liberia, and other sugar-producing countries, and the consequent extension of trade with them, would, as we believe, be fully equal to all the profits now resulting to the trade for which the North is indebted to the Union.

That, however, is but a small portion of the tax paid by the free people of the North for the maintenance and extension of slavery, and it is but a small part of the cost from which they would be relieved by that secession which, according to the *Charleston Mercury*, would constitute "the real triumph of the South." Once restored to the exercise of the right to govern themselves, their vast treasures of fuel, and of copper, lead, zinc, iron, and other ores would be developed, and the men employed in the work would then furnish a permanent market for food *thrice greater than that furnished by all the manufacturing countries of Europe*. Mark Lane would then cease to fix the prices of our farmers, while Wales and Staffordshire would cease to fix the price of iron, and we should cease to issue bonds for twenty-five millions a year to pay for

iron to be laid over the great coal and ore regions of the West. The products of the farm would then increase in both quantity and price, while cloth and iron would be far cheaper than they are now. Labor would then be more productive of all the commodities required by the laborer, who would then enjoy advantages to which he now can make no claim, because the whole policy of the country is, and long has been, controlled by men who wish to purchase labor, and desire that bone, muscle, and sinew may be cheaply sold.

Let our readers now estimate for themselves the annual loss to which our farmers are subjected by reason of the distance of the markets to which they are forced to carry their products, because of the difficulty, under southern policy, of bringing into activity the coal, the various ores, and the vast water powers of the Union, and see if it will be covered by ten, or even twenty dollars a head. To this let them add the annual loss from taxation for extending the area of slavery by the purchase of territory, for the projected purchase of the Mesilla Valley and Cuba, for the maintenance of fleets and armies required by these new possessions, and the further loss from the fact that the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers are, by the advocates of slavery, deemed to be unconstitutional—and let them then determine if the estimate that has been submitted to them of the cost of the Union is not below the truth.

NORTH AND SOUTH.

We beg our readers, now, to compare with us the relative position of Northern and Southern States and cities. Sixty years since, Virginia stood at the head of the Union, with ten representatives in Congress, while this State had only six. Where stand they now? New York has thirty-three and Virginia thirteen. Sixty years since, South Carolina had five representatives, while Ohio had scarcely a white inhabitant. Now, the former has still her old number of five, while the latter has twenty-one. In that time, Massachusetts has grown from eight to eleven; Pennsylvania from eight to twenty-five, and even little New Jersey, which then had only four, now balances the State which furnishes the great aristocracy of the land in its Pineknives, Rutledges, Cheeses, and Gadsdens. At that time, this city, Norfolk, and Charleston, might fairly have disputed the chances of commercial greatness that hung upon the future; but where stand they now? At the last census, Charleston had 42,806 inhabitants, having increased in ten years precisely 1,669. Norfolk had 14,320, or 3,400 more than she had in 1840, while New York and Brooklyn had risen to more than 600,000.

We are told, however, that this is all due to the action of the Federal Government; that "the immense commercial resources of the South are amongst the most startling and certain resources in all emergencies;" that "if there was no tariff of any kind, and absolute free trade, the southern seaports would in a quarter of a century surpass the northern ones not only in imports and exports, but also in population and the arts,"—and that the way to bring about this reign of free-trade and prosperity is to tax all merchandise imported from northern ports, or in northern ships, while admitting free all those imported from Europe, or in southern vessels. Incredible as it may seem to our readers, such is the mode we find advocated in the *Richmond Enquirer* as the one required for the establishment of perfect free-trade.

If, however, the prosperity of New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania, which are manufacturing States, has really been due to the tariff, and if protection is injurious to agricultural communities, how, we would ask, can we

account for the growth of Indiana and Illinois, which are not manufacturing States? Agreeably to the slavery theory, they should suffer equally with South Carolina and Virginia, and yet we find them growing to almost a million each of population; while Arkansas, almost as old, has less than 200,000. Their railroads count by thousands of miles, while Arkansas has yet, we believe, the first mile of road yet to make. Southern men can scarcely charge the new State of Wisconsin with protection, and yet, she bids fair to have a thousand miles of railroad before Texas shall have completed the first hundred miles of her first road. Telegraphs abound through the West and Northwestern States, and Ohio presents a perfect network of them; while Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia present to view little more than a single line, and that maintained almost exclusively by the transmission of intelligence *across* them from northern cities to New Orleans. Look where we may, we find the same result; throughout the North there is the activity of freedom and life, while throughout the South there is the palsy of slavery and death.

The prosperity of the Northwest is, however, as we are told, also due to the partiality of the Federal Government, the almost exclusive management of which has been so generally in Southern hands. What Massachusetts and this State gain from the tariff is made up to the newer States by donations out of the common treasury of lands. On this head we quote from the *Richmond Whig*:-

"Illinois is indebted for these two thousand miles of railroad to the bounty of the Federal Government, a bounty indulged at the expense of the Southern States, whose boldness and decay are sneered at. Every foot of these roads has been made by appropriations of public lands. Not a cent has come out of the pockets of the people. And railroads are not the only favors bestowed upon the hireling States. Immense contributions have been made to them all, for schools and colleges. We dare say, if the same liberal measure had been dealt out to the slaveholding States; if their territory had been permeated by canals and railroads, and schools established in every neighborhood, at the expense of the Northern States, we, too, might boast of our prosperity. It would not be going too far to say, that Illinois herself, if, in addition to the millions she has received from the Federal Treasury, had had the benefit of slave labor, might have been still more prosperous."

In reply to this, a contemporary furnishes the following abstract of a report from the Department of the Interior, made a few weeks since, showing the donations of land to six Western free States, and six slave States, to which we beg the attention of our readers:-

	O., Ia., Ill., Mich., Iowa, Wisconsin, Acres.	Mo., Ala., Mi., La., Ark., Florida, Acres.
School Lands	5,273,749	5,520,504
Universities	253,360	207,366
Seats of Government	28,560	22,300
Salines	261,045	161,230
Internal Improvement	1,569,449	2,600,009
Roads	251,355	—
Canals and Rivers	4,996,873	400,000
Railroads	2,595,053	5,788,098
Swamp Lands	11,265,333	24,533,020
Individuals and Companies	60,981	17,839
Military Services	20,167,763	5,716,974
	46,723,391	45,167,325

The appropriations here appear to be equal, but when we come to deduct the lands selected by individuals who had their choice to go into Southern or Northern States, we find the Southern grants for public purposes to be forty millions against twenty-five millions of Northern ones. Men do not to any extent go voluntarily into the slave States, but vast numbers leave those States to settle in the free ones, as is shown in the fact that the late census exhibits more than six hundred thousand people from the former settled in the latter, while the latter exhibit but 208,000 persons from the former; and if we deduct from them the number settled in the three States nearest the free ones, Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri, which *must* belong to a Northern Union whenever formed, we shall find but 123,000 remaining, or about one to five.

Freedom is attractive and slavery is repulsive. Men of activity and intelligence seek the free States, leaving the old slave States to the occupation of men whose dreams are of the long-passed days, when Virginia was "the Ancient Dominion," and consoling themselves for present insignificance by paragraphs of which the following, taken from the *Richmond Examiner*, is a specimen:—

Virginia, in this confederacy, is the impersonation of the well-born, well-educated, well-bred aristocracy. She looks down from her elevated pedestal upon her *parvenu*, ignorant, mendacious Yankee vilifiers as coldly and calmly as a marble statue. Occasionally, in Congress, or in the nominating conventions of the Democratic party, she condescends, when her interests demand it, to recognize the existence of her adversaries at the very moment when she crushes them, but she does it without anger, and with no more hatred of them than a gardener feels towards the insects which he finds it necessary occasionally to destroy.

The aristocracy does not work. The democracy does, and hence it is that the six free and six slave States, having received from the Treasury, for all purposes, an equal quantity of land, presented to view, at the date of the last census, the following comparison between the railroads completed and in progress:—

"The hireling States"
of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin.

Completed. In progress.

2,913 4,955

The aristocratic States
of Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida.

Completed. In progress.

417 2,318

A similar comparison, now made out, would present results still more striking, but even this should be sufficient to satisfy our readers; first, of the insignificance of the trade offered by the South to the North as the price of union, and second, that the enormous difference existing is not due to any action of the Federal Government, in the management of which the North has so uniformly been denied the slightest control.

We are told, however, that the North *must* cling to the South if it would not return to "the original poverty and weakness" that must follow a dissolution of the Union. Let us look at this proposition. At the North, everybody works. At the South, the *property* only works. Freemen there think work disgraceful, and do little of it. At the North, there is a desire to increase the value of labor and to free the laborer. At the South, there is a universal desire to extend the area of slavery, and to keep the laborer in a state of slavery, even when he has "blue eyes and brown hair, and might readily pass for white." At the North, protection tends to diversify the employment of labor, to increase the demand for it, and to increase its

reward, while public opinion tends towards the gratuitous distribution of public land among the actual settlers of it, and the establishment of a squatter sovereignty. At the South, the *Richmond Enquirer*, the organ of the Virginia aristocracy above described, tells its readers that it has "little hope of the defeat of the [Homestead] bill. The conservatism of the Senate," as it continues—

"Will hardly reject so plausible an appeal to popular passion. King Caucus is no longer monarch; the more soft, subtle, and persuasive Prince of Demagoguia now reigns supreme in the province of politics. It is barely possible that the measure may be arrested by executive veto."

Northern policy is attractive of immigration, because it looks thus to the elevation of the laborer. Immigration is always largest when mills and furnaces are being built, and when there is the greatest demand for labor, and it always declines as mills are closed and furnaces are permitted to go out of blast. Under the tariff of 1828, immigration trebled, and by 1834 it had reached 65,000; after which it remained nearly stationary until the tariff of 1842 came fully into operation, when it commenced to increase with such rapidity that in 1847, it had already almost reached a quarter of a million, the point it would have touched ten years sooner, had the people of the North been permitted to direct the operations of the government, in accordance with the views of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson—and long before the present time it would have reached a million.

To this, however, "the impersonation of the well-born, well-educated, and well-bred aristocrat" is opposed. It dislikes "squatter sovereignty," and holds in great contempt the people of "the hireling States," who sell their own labor, while looking with great complacency upon the operations of its own people engaged in feeding corn to men, women, and children, to be sold in Louisiana and Texas, there to swell "the immense commercial resources of the South," which constitute, as we are assured in the *Enquirer*, "the basis of the commerce of the Universe." It would, therefore, if it could, put a stop to the voluntary immigration of free men, while it would gladly reopen the African slave-trade, now regarded at the South as the real measure of civilization.

North of Mason and Dixon's line, of the Ohio, and of $36^{\circ} 30'$, we have land sufficient for hundreds of millions of inhabitants. We need population, and the surest way to bring it is to afford to the people of Europe reason for believing that by coming here they will be enabled to earn higher wages than they can obtain at home, and enjoy, in greater perfection, the advantages of freedom. Every person that comes here is worth *to the community* all he cost to raise, and the average cost of the men, women, and children we import, is certainly not less than a thousand dollars. Were these people black, and did they come from Africa to southern ports, they would be *property*, and *the community* would be regarded as being richer by at least five hundred dollars a head, because of their importation. If so there, why not so here? To the community it matters not who is the owner of property, provided it exists and is owned among themselves. The negro is the property of another, but the free immigrant is his own property, and hence more valuable than the negro, and every such person constitutes an addition to the wealth of the community of at least a thousand dollars. Northern policy, even as it is now carried out, attracts nearly 400,000 such persons annually, few or none of whom would come under an entire southern policy, and to this vast immigration is to a great extent due the fact that in a single western State, Illinois, the increase in the value of property in the year 1853, over that of 1852, was fifty-eight millions of dollars, or more than five times as much as the annual value of

that portion of our trade with the South that is dependent on its refraining from executing its threat of dissolution.

Had the northern policy been fully carried out, we should now be importing people at double our present rate, and every man so imported would be adding to the value of southern products, by consuming thrice, and perhaps five times, as much cotton and sugar as he consumed at home. At the same time they would be adding to the value of northern land and labor to the extent of at least the sum we have named, or an amount of four hundred millions of dollars, being more than twenty dollars per head of the present population of the States we have assigned to a northern Union. Adding this quantity to those already obtained, we feel disposed to place the loss of the North, from the continuance of the Union, at about forty dollars per head; while the gain therefrom does not exceed forty cents—the difference, or £39 60 per head, being, as we think, the *net* annual loss to the northern States.

THE CASE AS IT STANDS.

We have now in those States more than seventeen millions of people, and if we add thereto the population of the British provinces, the sum will be nearly twenty millions. Annexation of those provinces can never take place while we shall continue so busily occupied in extending the area of slavery, to which the people of Canada are so much opposed. They tell us, frankly, that they will make no connection with us

"That will empower the slave-driver to make Canada a hunting-ground. Human flesh and blood shall never be bartered in Canada like the beasts of the field. The baying of the bloodhounds shall never echo through our woods. If Mitchell wants 'a plantation of fat negroes to flog,' he will have to seek it in some other place than Canada. If Canada ever becomes a State of the Union, it will not be until its soil is soaked with blood."—*Toronto Colonist*.

With a northern Union, this difficulty could have no existence, and the advantages of union are to the Provinces so great that, were it removed, annexation would follow as a necessary consequence.

What, then, would be the real loss resulting from a secession by the South, with a view to carry out the now favorite project of a great slave republic, embracing some of the slave States, Cuba, Brazil, and probably Hayti, whose people would be re-enslaved? We should lose the companionship of five millions of white men who give seven millions of votes, and thereby deprive the whole free people of the North of all control over their own actions, while taxing them hundreds of millions for the purchase and protection of territory sufficient to enable themselves to hold the reins of government. We should, on the other hand, gain a connection with two and a half millions of free people who sell their own labor, and therefore desire that "the hireling" should be largely paid. We should lose a connection with five millions who differ from us in all our modes of thought in regard to the rights of man, and gain a connection with half that number who agree with us in reference to that important subject. We should lose a connection with men who look only to exhausting their land and then abandoning it, and gain one in which every man is cultivating his own homestead, and, therefore, desirous of improving it for the benefit of himself, his wife, and his children, and ready to unite with us in every measure tending to that result. We should lose a connection with a dead body, and gain one with a living man.

Further than this, a northern Union, pursuing a policy tending to elevate the laborer, by diversifying and increasing the demand for labor, would attract twice the number of immigrants we now receive, and would thus add so

enormously to our numbers and our wealth, that we hesitate not to express our full belief that such a Union would, in twenty years from this date, be richer and more populous than will be our present Union if it continued for that time. Stronger it would certainly be, for slavery is an element of weakness. More respectable it would certainly be, for we cannot command the respect of the world while appearing everywhere as the advocates of slavery, and the executors of the fugitive slave law. More moral would it be, for we do not covet our neighbor's lands, nor would we make of himself a chattel. Examine the matter, therefore, as we may, the balance of profit and loss seems to us to be in favor of permitting our southern friends to exercise their own judgments as to the time, manner, and extent of secession. The case, as it now stands, is thus stated by the *Charleston Evening News*:-

"It is vain to disguise it, the great issue of our day in this country is, slavery or no slavery. The present phase of that issue is, the extension or non-extension of the institution, the foundations of which are broad and solid in our midst. Whatever the general measure—whatever the political combinations—whatever the party movement—whatever the action of sections at Washington, the one single, dominant, and pervading idea, solving all leading questions, insinuating itself into every polity, drawing the horoscopes of all aspirants, serving as a lever or fulcrum for every interest, class, and individuality—a sort of directing fatality, is that master issue. As, in despite of right and reason—of organism and men—of interests and efforts, it has become *per se* political destiny—why not meet it? It controls the North, it controls the South—it precludes escape. It is at last and simply a question between the South and the remainder of the Union, *as sections and as people*. All efforts to give it other divisions, to solve it by considerations other than those which pertain to them in their *local* character and fates, to divert it, to confound it with objects and designs of a general nature, is rendered futile. It has to be determined by these real parties, by their action in their character as sections—inchoate countries."

Such *are* the parties to this great question of the enlargement or contraction of the freedom of man—"sections—inchoate countries." How soon they will become really different countries—enemies in war, and in peace friends—depends upon the South, which has for thirty years threatened secession, and has thus far been conciliated only by the exercise of almost unlimited power to buy land and create poor slave States, with small population, as offsets to large, populous, and wealthy free States at the North. The cup of conciliation has, however, been drained, and, if the Missouri Compromise be now repealed, even the dregs will scarcely, we think, be found at its bottom. That the monstrous Nebraska Bill can become a law, we do not believe, nor can we believe that southern gentlemen will generally be found advocating such an extraordinary violation of faith; but should we err in this, and should the failure of this new attempt at the enlargement of slave territory and extension of slave power be followed by a determination on the part of the South to insist on their right of secession, why the only answer to be made will be in the words of Senator Fessenden, "They need not put it off a day on our account."

VIRGINIA.

For thirty years, the South has threatened to dissolve the Union, unless permitted to control its commercial policy, to tax the Northern people for the purchase of land and the maintenance of fleets and armies required for its own use, and to manufacture States like Florida and Arkansas, to be used as a set-off against the rapidly-growing States of the Northwest; and now we are threatened with dissolution unless we yield up Kansas and Nebraska, on one hand, and pay a hundred millions for Cuba on the other. What is the profit and what the loss likely to result to the North from the practical enforcement

by the South of its right to secession, we have heretofore endeavored fairly to place before our readers, and if the balance has been largely against the Union, the fault lies in the facts themselves, and certainly not in us. There is, however, as we are told by *The Richmond Enquirer*, "another and most important relation in which we must contemplate the dreadful contingency of disunion;" and that is, as to the manner in which it would affect the social condition of the North and the South. The statesmen of the former, as *The Enquirer* informs its readers, "have never displayed any high order of administrative talent;" and it greatly fears that, deprived of the aid of the latter, the North must fall into anarchy, and fail entirely in every effort at self-government that may be made. "Conservatism is," as we are assured, "the controlling element in the social system of the South," and to such an extent that—

"There is not now and there has never been a community in which the principles of self-government were so abundantly developed as in the Southern States of this confederacy. The necessary effect of the institution of Slavery is to impart a dignity, a sobriety, and a self-possession to the character of the dominant race. Taught from childhood to govern himself and to rule others, the slaveholder begins life with all the qualities essential to the character of a safe and efficient member of society."

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Jefferson, himself not only a Virginian, but also a slaveholder, tells us just the reverse of all this in the following passage from his *Notes on Virginia* :—

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it—for man is an imitative animal; this quality is the germ of all education in him; from his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with its odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved under such circumstances."

Which of these authorities is entitled to be believed our readers will determine for themselves. On the one side they have a Virginian of 1776, a lover of the Union, and one who held that God had created all men free and equal; and on the other a Virginian of 1854, an active member of the Pro-Slavery Party, that has for the last thirty years governed the Union by means of threats that, if interfered with, they would certainly secede, and thus bring about what *The Enquirer* is now pleased to style "the dreadful contingency of disunion." On the one side they have the representative of that Virginia which gave to the Union its Washington, its Henry, its Jefferson, and its Madison, and on the other the representative of the State which has placed in its Governor's chair Virginians like Extra Billy Smith—which gives John Tyler to the Union, and aids in placing Franklin Pierce in the Chief Magistracy to the exclusion of such a Virginian as the gallant Scott. Between the two, there is no great doubt which is to be respected.

Released from the control of their "conservative" friends—or masters—of the South, who tax them for the extension of the area of Slavery, and then vote for *themselves and their property*—and left to tax themselves at their own pleasure for the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the increase in the value of their land, "what security is there," asks the anxious *Enquirer*—

"That the non-slaveholding States would continue to cohere in one political and social system? The all-pervading and controlling element of Slavery would give unity and consistency to the social and political system of the South. But the Northern

States would be bound together by no such principle of union, and in the absence of the necessary centralizing tendency, diverse and antagonist interests would scatter them asunder, and, perchance, drive them into hostile conflict. At any rate, the Southern States, moving under the impulse of one will, and pursuing a single policy, would find it no difficult task to play off the Northern States one against the other, and thus acquire complete control over their destinies. It is obvious to the reflecting mind, that if the Northern States were cut loose from the South, they would be broken up into as many petty communities, or would else be overwhelmed in social anarchy. The latter alternative would, perhaps, be their more probable fate."

In reply to this, we can assure our readers, North and South, that in the event of dissolution, the North would most certainly continue to have the aid of "conservative" Virginia, and of "the dignity, propriety, and self-possession" which are there, as *The Enquirer* assures us, so "characteristic of the dominant race." That State is bound to go with the North and not with the South, and, therefore, our anxious friends may be quite relieved of apprehension in regard to the "social anarchy," that would result from dissolution. *Of all the States of the Union Virginia is the one that is most dependent upon the protection afforded by the North through the intervention of the Federal Government*—and yet it is the most determined against permitting interference with what it calls freedom of trade. It has but one branch of manufacture fairly established within its limits, and that is of negroes for exportation, in which it is protected by an absolute *prohibition* of foreign competition, by aid of which it sells a negro for a thousand dollars, while similar ones could be imported from the coast of Africa at less than one-fifth that price. To what extent that export is carried on will be shown by the following figures: In 1830, the number of negroes in the State was 469,000, and these, according to the usual rate of increase, should, by 1840, have become 600,000, whereas they were only 449,000, and the export in that period must therefore have been about 150,000. From 1840 to 1850, the increase was 24,000, whereas it should have been about 120,000, and this would give an export of about 100,000. Taking the average of the twenty years, we obtain an annual export of about 12,000, and as they are generally fed at home until full grown, we may, we think, safely put them at not less than \$800 each, giving a total product of nearly ten millions of dollars for *commodities* that would not, under absolute free trade, sell for more than two millions, if even for that amount.

This is to "the Ancient Dominion" an important branch of trade, and its existence and prosperity are due to the Union with the North. It is with the excess of eight millions that she pays for the iron that should be manufactured at home, and for the cloth that should be bought with the iron. With the dissolution of the Union this excess, however, would cease to exist, for among the first measures of a Southern Confederacy would be the reopening of the African slave-trade for the benefit of the planters of Alabama and Mississippi, long since tired of paying Virginia a thousand dollars for a negro that under "absolute free trade" could be bought in Africa for thirty or forty dollars, and transported across the ocean for as many more. What then would be the condition of Virginia, as a member of a Southern Confederacy? Her land is already to so great an extent exhausted by constant cropping, and constant export of all its products, that her own people are flying from it, and it is only by aid of Northern men and Northern labor, that it is here and there acquiring value. Once separated from the North, Northern men would cease to seek her soil, and the aversion of foreigners to the slave States is, as we know, greater than is that even of our own people. We have at this moment before us the destinations of the passengers of the ship Universe, which arrived at this port a short time since, and they afford on this point such conclusive evidence that we are induced to lay them before our readers—as follows:—

TO "THE HIRELING STATES."		TO "THE ARISTOCRATIC STATES."	
Maine	1	Maryland	8
Massachusetts	39	District of Columbia	1
Vermont	5	Kentucky	1
Rhode Island	17	Missouri	2
Connecticut	25	Virginia	2
New Jersey	41	South Carolina	1
Pennsylvania	76	Georgia	1
Ohio	61	Louisiana	1
Indiana	2		
Illinois	56	Total	17
Iowa	10		
California	1		
Total	334		

Virginia obtains two and Pennsylvania no less than 76! Why is this? Because the former obtains its iron by the indirect process of manufacturing its corn into negroes, and the other by the direct process of feeding its corn to men who mine ore and coal and convert them into iron. Missouri, with all her natural advantages obtains two, and her neighbor, Illinois, fifty-six, because Missouri still permits men, women, and children to be bought and sold, and Illinois does not.

As a member of a Southern Union, Virginia could no longer claim the aid of any sort of Fugitive Slave Law, and her negroes would, of course, have the strongest inducements to fly to the North. Her whites would, therefore, seek to fly with their *property* to the South, where they would be met by cargoes of newly imported Africans, and the consequence would be a depreciation of price to an extent far exceeding anything ever known in the history of commerce. As a member of a Southern Confederacy Virginia would be abandoned, her people would be ruined, and her towns and cities would pass out of existence. Within a Northern Union, on the contrary, she might flourish, for she would be then employing her labor in developing her great mineral wealth, and thus adding to the value of both labor and land. Then would be realized the earnest wish of Washington, expressed in his letter to La Fayette, in the following words, referring to the emancipation of the slaves of the latter in Cayenne:—

"Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it. * * * To set the slaves afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much mischief and inconvenience; but by degrees it might, and assuredly ought to be effected; and that, too, by legislative authority."

The people of the North would then gladly co-operate with Virginia in her efforts at gradually freeing herself from the evils of Slavery, and men of intelligence and energy would then seek the State instead of flying from it as is now the case. Her exhausted lands would then again be brought into cultivation, and then would Norfolk become a commercial city, which now it is not, nor can it ever be while the extension of the area of Slavery shall continue to be regarded as the true policy of the State. Her people would then be educated, and *The Richmond Whig* would cease to report such melancholy facts as are given in the following passage taken from its columns:—

"The census of 1840 reported 58,732 as the number of whites over 20 years of age who were unable to read, with a white population of 779,300. The late census of 1850 shows the number to be 80,000 out of a population of 897,534. So that, with an increase of only 118,234 whites, we have 21,268 who are unable to read more than the last census indicated."

Well may the writer speak of this as presenting facts "humiliating to our pride," and well may he dwell on the "deep mortification" which, as a Virginian, he feels in reflecting that if, in addition to those who cannot read at all, there be added those "who, although they read a little, yet do it so imperfectly as to be but little if at all benefited by it, the number will be aug-

mented to more than 100,000," or *one-fourth of the whole white population over twenty years of age.* As Americans, we are grieved to reflect that such a state of things should exist in any State of the Union, and can readily imagine how great must be the grief of a Virginian who studies the fact that great as is now the proportion of the absolutely ignorant, it is likely at the next census to be yet far greater. But in the event of the menaced dissolution, with Virginia a Northern State, all would be different. Her coal and her iron ore would then be wrought, her water powers would be put to work, her land would become productive, her roads would improve until she might almost stand side by side with the young Indiana, with her 1,300 miles of railroad in operation, her 1,592 miles in course of construction, and her 732 miles projected and in part surveyed—and then her schools would increase in number and improve in quality, and her people would not only read but write.

The difference to Virginia between adhesion to the North or the South is the difference between absolute ruin on one hand and high prosperity on the other. Such being the case, we cannot but hope that our friends of *The Enquirer* will feel themselves relieved from all apprehension of the occurrence of anarchy in the North as a consequence of the want of that portion of the conservative element which is now furnished by the State they represent. Their fears are groundless. The State that gave to the nation Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, is not to be separated from those which furnished Otis, Adams, Greene, Hamilton, and Franklin. They are destined to stand or fall together, a truth of which we hope our Southern friends will now be convinced. What States, then, will constitute a Southern Union, if Virginia remain with the North? Kentucky will not be in it, for she is a noble and gallant State, whose feelings have always accorded far more with the North than with the South. Several of the reasons that, as we have shown, would influence Virginia, would be equally operative with her; and we are, therefore, entirely confident that whenever the "dreadful contingency of disunion" shall occur, the land of Henry Clay will be found standing side by side with those States with which, under his lead, it so long acted. Which, then, will be the frontier Slave State? North Carolina? Tennessee? Neither the one nor the other. Both will keep company with Virginia and Kentucky, and a Southern Union can embrace no State north of South Carolina and Alabama. Such a Union would be utterly powerless, and well do many of the loudest advocates of secession know that such is the fact. We need not, therefore, apprehend that the South will speedily rush into the alternative that she is so fond of threatening at every intimation that she is not to have her own way in the Government. The South plainly cannot *afford* to dissolve the Union. That the North can, we have already demonstrated; and if we have succeeded in establishing in the public mind the conviction of these two facts, we have done an important thing towards disarming the slaveholders of their favorite weapon of legislation, whenever they have some repulsive or outrageous measure to force upon the free States. When the North shall scorn the threats of disunion from the South, and calmly allow the Secessionists to go the whole length of their tether, these chronic threats of dissolution will quickly subside, and soon come to be looked upon as they should be, with utter contempt, both in and out of Congress. When that time shall arrive, the North will not hesitate to consider, and to act in reference to the fact that the benefits of the Union, as it now exists, enure to the South, and that its chief object, as now managed, is the extension of Slavery, for the attainment of which the people of the North are perpetually taxed for the purchase of slave territory, or free territory that is to be filled with slaves, while denied all protection to themselves, whether for the building of mills and furnaces or for the improvement of their rivers and harbors. With all this clearly felt and

understood, and with no unmeaning menace of disunion permitted to palsy the nerves of the Northern people, we may look for them to make for themselves another and a very different Government from that which of late years has been made for them by the southern men, who have "obtained the mastery in Congress," and have "so changed its policy," that it has "fostered the interests" of those who desired to buy bone, muscle, and sinew, in the form of labourers, at the cost of those who desired to sell their own labor for the benefit of themselves, their wives, and their children.

REAL WEAKNESS OF THE SOUTH.

On a former occasion, we demonstrated to our readers that a separate Confederacy of the southern States could embrace no member of the present Union north of South Carolina and Alabama, and that, whenever formed, it would be utterly powerless for the accomplishment of southern objects. This, however, would be equally true of any such Union, were it even to include all the States south of Maryland and Missouri, several of which can never, under any circumstances, venture to separate themselves from the North.

Power grows with the increase of wealth. The honest, industrious, and prudent man, who respects the rights of others, finds himself from year to year more able to claim and to enforce respect for his own. The spendthrift, the drunkard, and the gambler, holding in small respect the rights of others, lose by degrees all power to direct themselves, and end their days in hospitals or almshouses. The farmer who obtains good prices for his grain is enabled from day to day to add to his facilities for production and transportation, to improve the condition of his family, and to increase his contributions for the improvement of schools for his children; and with every step in this direction there is increase of power; whereas, he who is forced to accept low prices finds himself declining in power from day to day, until at length his farm passes into the hands of the Sheriff, and he himself becomes a wanderer and a day laborer. So it is with communities; those that are enabled to command high prices find themselves becoming more powerful from year to year, whereas, those which, like Portugal, Turkey, Mexico, India, Virginia, and Carolina, are from year to year obliged to give more commodities for less money, become weaker with every succeeding period.

The policy of the slave States tends in one or the other of these directions. And as the question of power is only a question of wealth, we may here advantageously examine what has been the effect of their past course upon the prices of their staples. If they have tended upward, then may the South form for itself a powerful Union, but if they have tended in the opposite direction, then must that Union, wherever and however formed, be a weak and insignificant one. What are the facts we propose now to show:—

Twenty years ago, say in the period from 1832 to 1838, the average yield of cotton was about 1,350,000 bales, and the average price, as stated by Mr. Walker some years since, was thirteen and a half cents per pound. Since then the population of the cotton-growing States has almost doubled, and the crop has somewhat more than doubled, having thus but little more than kept pace with the increase of numbers. The crop of the present year is now estimated at little more than 2,800,000 bales, and yet the price of middling, which gives the average of the whole, is at this moment quoted at New Orleans at eight cents, "with a declining tendency." Fortunately for the planter, the crop is very short. Had it proved to be, as was expected, 3,300,000 bales, it may well be doubted if it would now command even *one-half* of the average price of the period to which we first referred. Here is a great reduction, and to what is it due? To any increase in the value of money? Certainly

not; for in the time that has since elapsed the great gold fields of California and Australia have been discovered. To any general diminution of prices? Certainly not; for wheat, corn, rye, hay, butchers' meat, and all the raw products of the earth, *except those in the raising of which Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana are concerned*, have largely advanced in price. Copper, tin, lead and iron have also advanced. Houserents are higher than were ever known; the freights of ships are enormous. And thus all things are high except cotton and sugar, the two commodities upon the price of which depends the power of our southern neighbors.

In this period, our crop of Sugar has risen from about nothing to 330,000 hhd., or 350 millions of pounds; and that of Molasses to 31 millions of gallons, and the chief part of this increase is due to the protection afforded by the Tariff of '42. But for that portion of northern policy, nearly the whole force employed in raising Sugar would be now at work in the cotton-fields, giving probably another half million of bales, with a price less by one-third than that at which it now is sold. To the diversification of employment thus given to the South is therefore due the fact that the price has, even thus far, been maintained. It is the North, as we have already said, that has stood between the South and ruin.

The South had three cents a pound on Sugar, but jealousy of the North prompted it to inflict upon the people of the Union the tariff of 1846, with its ad valorem system, and what has been the consequence? The duty has fallen to one cent per pound—the import has risen to 500 millions of pounds, and the price has fallen in this market to four cents, one-half of which is swallowed up by casks, freights, and commission, leaving the planter two cents, or only twice the amount of the duty on foreign sugar.

We see thus that two of the most important commodities produced in the world are steadily settling down in price at a time when all the raw produce of the world, *that of the tropical countries excepted*, is as steadily rising; a state of things tending to the increase of the power of the communities that have *to buy* cotton, coffee and sugar, and to the diminution of the power of those that have *to sell* those commodities. Why this is so, is that the people of the South have never yet been able to open their eyes to the truth of Gen. Jackson's views, as given in his letter to Dr. Coleman, that the true way to increase the power of the people who have raw commodities to sell, is to adopt the measures required for diminishing the number of producers and increasing the number of consumers. All their projects look to increasing the number of producers of cotton and sugar, and of course increasing the competition for their sale. All their ideas of the true commercial policy of the South are borrowed from the books of English writers, who seek to have cheap cotton and cheap sugar, and those ideas are carried into practice by the men of Alabama and Mississippi, who desire that cotton and sugar may be dear; and who persist in carrying out the English policy in face of the fact that, notwithstanding the great increase in the supply of gold, the prices of their commodities tend steadily toward a lower point, and their own power tends steadily to decline. It was said of old that "those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and all history proves the fact; but it would be difficult to find anywhere a more striking proof of its truth than is now being furnished by the slave States of this Union.

The South now desires Cuba, and for the purpose of obtaining it will agree to tax the people of the North some eighty millions of dollars toward the hundred millions required for its purchase. Suppose, however, this object attained, and the island purchased, will that increase the power of the South? We doubt it. Thus far its real power has diminished as its territory has increased, and it has only been by means of purchasing "northern men with

southern principles" that it has maintained its position in the Union. Its real and enduring strength is far less now, as compared with the North, than it was before Florida was bought, and greatly less than it was before Texas was dragged into the Union—and it will be still less after Cuba shall have been purchased. The reason for this is, that thus far all its measures have tended to increase competition for the sale of its products, and such is the tendency of the present Cuban movement.

With the annexation of that Island, the duty on Sugar will cease, and the sugar cultivation of Louisiana and Texas must pass away, the consequence of which must be a steady tendency to increase the number of producers of cotton, with a decline in the price of that staple. We shall, however, be told that the negroes of Texas will be taken to Cuba to raise sugar. Admit that such be the case, will not the effect be to produce a still more rapid decline in sugar, and will not this drive more people to the production of cotton? Such must certainly be the case. The only effect of the incorporation of Cuba into the Union will be to increase the competition for the sale of southern products and to diminish their prices.

It is not, however, Cuba alone that is to be incorporated with the South; Hayti is to be added. "With Cuba and St. Domingo," says *The Charleston Standard*, "we could control the productions of the tropics, and, with them, the commerce of the world, and *with that*, the power of the world." Well, suppose Hayti added, and her land rendered more productive, can such a measure have any other effect than that of increasing the competition for the sale of southern products, and diminishing their prices, and the power of the men who have them to sell? We think not. We see everywhere that men who have to work cheaply lose power, and to produce this state of things appears to us to be the tendency of all southern measures.

It is not, however, to Cuba and Hayti alone that southern *insanity* now directs its attention. It would have the lands of the Amazon rendered productive of all the commodities that southern men have to sell, with a view, probably, of reducing their prices with the greatest possible rapidity. We quote again from *The Standard*:—

"Our true policy is to look to Brazil as the next great slave power, and as the government that is to direct or license the development of the country drained by the Amazon. Instead of courting England, we should look to Brazil and the West Indies. The time will come when a treaty of commerce and alliance with Brazil will give us the control over the Gulf of Mexico, and its border countries, together with the islands, and the consequence of this will place African slavery beyond fanaticism, at home or abroad. These two great slave powers now hold more undeveloped territory than any other two governments, and they ought to guard and strengthen their mutual interests by acting together, in strict harmony and concert. Considering our vast resources and the mighty commerce that is about to expand upon the bosom of the two countries, if we act together by treaty, *we can not only preserve domestic servitude*, but we can defy the power of the world."

To accomplish all these objects, however, large supplies of laborers are required, and, that they may be obtained, the African slave-trade is, according to *The Standard*, to be opened up "again to people the whole region of the tropics." Will this, however, enrich and strengthen the South? We think not. With the reopening of the slave-trade, the price of negroes will probably fall about three-fourths; and, if we take the present average value of men and women, old and young, sick and well, at but five hundred dollars, here will be a diminution of wealth to the extent of not less than twelve hundred millions of dollars. In such case, what will become of the owners of the existing generation of slaves? Must they not be ruined?

This, however, is not all. The more slaves the more cotton and sugar there will be, and the more of these commodities for sale, the larger will be the

quantity to be given for the same quantity of cloth, corn, lead, or iron. Every planter knows that he profits by short crops of cotton in India, or of sugar in Brazil, and that he suffers when they have large crops; and yet these very men are now laboring to increase the crops of Cuba, Hayti, and Brazil, under the idea that power goes with the surface owned, and with the quantity of commodities produced, and not with the quantity of other commodities obtained in exchange for them. A more remarkable case of insanity has never yet been furnished by the world.

We are told, however, that the North is being enriched by immigration, and that the condition of the immigrant is improved, and are asked, as the eminent authority we have already cited tells us—

"If it be mercy to give the grain-growing sections of America to the poor and hungry of Europe, why not open up the tropics to the poor African? The one region is as eminently suited to them as the other is to the white race. There is as much philanthropy in one as in the other. We have been too long governed by psalm-singing schoolmasters from the North. It is time to think for ourselves. The folly commenced in our own Government uniting with Great Britain to declare slave importation piracy. Piracy is a crime on the high seas, arising under the law of nations, and it is as well defined by those laws as murder is at common law. And for two nations to attempt to make that piracy which is not so under the law of nations, is an absurdity."

That the North is enriched by immigration is most true, but such would not be the case if the North were pertinaciously to insist that every immigrant should raise only wheat, corn, or tobacco. The men who come to the North sell their own labor, and are always seeking so to diversify their employments, as to render each and every man a customer to his neighbor. The market, therefore, grows with the supply, and the faster men come the greater is the demand for labor, except when southern policy intervenes to close the mills and furnaces, and to force the whole people of the North to resort to agriculture as the sole means of subsistence, as was the case in 1841-42. With all the vast increase of production, the domestic demand that has resulted from protection, even so far as our farmers have obtained it, has grown so fast, that we have now far less food to send abroad than we had thirty years since, and prices are far higher now than they were then. Had the North repudiated protection, it would be poorer now than it was then, for it would have more to send abroad, and would get less in exchange for it. Had the South adopted protection, it would have now far less for which it must seek a market abroad, and would be receiving twice as much cloth, iron, copper, tin, and lead, in exchange for the diminished quantity. Under the northern system, profit and power grow with increase of population, but under the southern one all have diminished, and must continue to diminish. The greater the territory and the greater the population, the greater *must* be the quantity of southern produce requiring to go abroad, the lower must be prices, and the weaker must become the cotton-growers; and therefore the realization of southern schemes to their fullest extent can only render the members of the anticipated Southern Union very much poorer, weaker, and less respectable than they are at present.

THE NORTHERN SLAVE STATES.

Our readers must, we think, be satisfied that no division of the Union can take place which will deprive Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, or Tennessee, of the benefits they now derive from their connection with the North. The last three have been Whig States, generally identified with the North as to the true course of national policy, and nothing but the wildest insanity could lead them to a connection with the extremists of the South. As regards Virginia, the State so remarkable, as we are told by *The Enquirer*, for the perfect development of "the principles of self-government," and for "the dignity, propriety,

and self-possession of the dominant race," she has been kept in her present position only by a denial to nearly one-half of her *nominally* free population of any claim whatever to the exercise of "self-government." Her system is a tyranny equally with that of South Carolina. Out of 92,000 votes cast in 1848, Gen. Taylor had 45,250, or within 750 of one-half the whole number, and yet this immense minority was represented on the floor of Congress by but a single member, "the lone star" that was by "the dominant race" permitted to shed its light upon the deliberations of the House of Representatives. Such, too, has been the case during many years, that the State has been nearly equally divided between the Whigs and Democrats. Out of 96,000 votes, Mr. Clay had within 2,500 of one-half; but so admirably had the State been *gerrymandered* by "the dominant race," so conspicuous for its admiration of "self-government," that that great minority was almost entirely denied the privilege of representation, and was thus gagged to prevent it from disturbing in any manner the "dignity, propriety, and self-possession" of those who preferred the government of "northern men with southern principles" to that of high-minded and honorable southern men like Henry Clay and Winfield Scott.

One-fifth of the whole population of the State over twenty years of age cannot read at all, and this would give about 20,000 voters who can neither read nor write. Of these, nineteen-twentieths may be set down as belonging to the gerrymandering party that has ruled the State, being at least six times the majority by which it has been so long administered in the interests of the South. The celebrated "tenth legion," the stronghold of what is called Democracy, has in it little short of two thousand voters who can neither read nor write, and whose votes are given, invariably, for the pro-slavery candidate, and it is by such men that the majority is furnished. The day is not, however, distant when the intelligence and the moral feeling of the State will obtain some control over its management; for already its people are awaking to the fact that with every advantage nature could give them, they are declining in wealth and power, while the State is diminishing from year to year in its influence upon the movements of the Union. Her people are now being told by *The Lynchburg Virginian* that—

"Her coal fields are the most extensive in the world, and her coal of the best and purest quality. Her iron deposits are altogether inexhaustible, and in many instances so pure, that it is malleable in its primitive state; and many of these deposits in the immediate vicinity of extensive coal fields. She has, too, very extensive deposits of copper, lead, and gypsum. Her rivers are numerous and bold, generally with fall enough for extensive water power. The James River, at Richmond, affords a convertible water-power, immensely superior to that of the Merrimack, at Lowell, and not inferior to that of the Genesee, at Rochester. The James River, at her passage through the Blue Ridge, and the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, both afford great water-power. The Kanawha, or New River has an immense fall. There is hardly a section of five miles between the falls of Kanawha and the North Carolina line, that has not fall enough for working the most extensive machinery. * * * A remarkable feature in the mining and manufacturing prospects of Virginia is the ease and economy with which all her minerals are mined; instead of being as in England and elsewhere, generally imbedded deep within the bowels of the earth, from which they can be got only with great labor and at great cost, ours are found everywhere on the hills and slopes, with their ledges dipping in the direction of the plains below. Why, then, should not Virginia at once employ at least half of her labor and capital in mining and manufacturing? Richmond could as profitably manufacture all cotton and woollen goods as Lowell, or any other town in New England. Why should not Lynchburg, with all her promised facility of getting coal and pig metal, manufacture all articles of iron and steel just as cheaply, and yet as profitably, as any portion of the Northern States? Why should not every town and village on the line of every railroad in the State, erect their shops, in which they may manufacture a thousand articles of daily consumption, just as good and cheap as they may be made anywhere?"

--Simply because Virginia has preferred to manufacture her corn into negroes, by the sale of which to purchase her cloth and her iron, rather than take for herself the protection required to enable her to make her cloth, her iron, her railroad bars, and her steam-engines at home. She has been the steady advocate of the policy that looked to the depression of the free laborer to the condition of the slave, when her true interests lay in the direction which looked towards the elevation of the slave to the condition of a freeman. She has pursued a policy that has kept her as *The Virginian* further says—

"Dependent upon Europe and the North for almost every yard of cloth, and every cast

and hoot and hat we wear; for our axes, scythes, tubs and buckets—in short, for everything except our bread and meat? It must occur to the South that if our relations with the North should ever be severed—and how soon they may be, none can know (may God avert it long!)—we would, in all the South, not be able to clothe ourselves. We could not fell our forests, plough our fields, nor mow our meadows. In fact, we should be reduced to a state more abject than we are willing to look at, even prospectively. And yet, with all these things staring us in the face, we shut our eyes, and go on blindfold."

All this is most true, but why is it so? Because whenever, under the free labor policy, as in the years 1844 to 1847, any attempt is made at establishing manufactures in Virginia, the representatives of its tenth legion in the House and in the Senate are always found ready with their votes to crush the unfortunate man who has been induced so to invest his capital. Her Senators even now stand, as we believe, instructed to vote for the abolition of the duty, on railroad iron, and yet she is capable of furnishing the whole demand of the Union, for that important commodity. To the folly of this course, her people are now becoming awake, and even *The Richmond Enquirer* tells its readers that—

"In no State of the Confederacy do the facilities for manufacturing operations exist in greater profusion than in Virginia. Every condition essential to success in these employments is found here in prodigal abundance, and in a peculiarly convenient combination. First, we have a limitless supply of water-power—the cheapest of motors—in localities easy of access. So abundant is this supply of water-power that no value is attached to it distinct from the adjacent lands, except in the vicinity of the larger towns. On the Potomac and its tributaries; on the Rappahannock; on the James and its tributaries; on the Roanoke and its tributaries; on the Holston, the Kanawha, and other streams, numberless sites may be found where the supply of water-power is sufficient for the purposes of a Lawrence or a Lowell. Nor is there any want of material for building at these localities; timber and granite are abundant; and, to complete the circle of advantages, the climate is genial and healthful, and the soil eminently productive. * * * Another advantage which Virginia possesses for the manufacture of cotton is the proximity of its mills to the raw material. At the present prices of the staple, the value of this advantage is estimated at 10 per cent. Our railway system, penetrating into every part of the State, will facilitate the transfer of cotton to the most remote localities. Instead of expatiating on the causes of the shameful neglect of the magnificent resources and advantages for manufacturing operations which Virginia possesses in such abundance, we choose rather to suggest some reasons why the State should, especially at this particular juncture, apply its energy and capital to this inviting field of enterprise. One among the inevitable effects of the crisis in Europe, is the comparative prostration of the manufacturing interest in Great Britain. The withdrawal of capital from the operations of trade, to sustain the operations of war—the general rise in the price of bread—the stringency, uncertainty, and sudden fluctuations in the money market—will all contribute to impair the ability of Great Britain to maintain its ascendancy; while, in consequence of the rupture of old commercial relations, new and exclusive markets will be thrown open to the products of American industry. Moreover, in this general interruption of trade and prostration of the manufacturing interest, the great southern staple must suffer, unless an original and compensating demand for cotton be created in this country. Leaving out of view its effect on the general prosperity of the State, the creation of a new demand for labor by manufacturing enterprises would tend to arrest the tide which annually sweeps away so large a portion of our slave population. The increase in the value of slave property consequent on the demand for labor on our works of internal improvement, has already partially checked the trade to the South. An additional counter demand would stop it entirely."

This is all most true. "An additional counter demand" for labor would terminate the domestic slave-trade, to the great advantage of the slave, his owner, and the State. The establishment of such a demand would, however, be entirely impossible in connection with any Southern Union, for the repudiation of protection is a cardinal principle with all the advocates of such a Union. They seek to have free trade in the importation of cloth, iron, and negroes, whereas Virginia needs either protection for cloth and iron, or a continuation of that protection to the negro trade that she has so long enjoyed, and without which she cannot exist, unless, as suggested by *The Enquirer*, she establishes such a "counter demand" for labor as shall render her soil attractive of immigration, instead of being, as heretofore, so repulsive as to drive from it not only the slave but the free population.

In the last thirty years, the politicians who have gerrymandered the State have governed it with special regard to their own private interests; and have thus compelled the export of population to such an extent as to have built up an extreme South, that now proposes to act for itself in opposition to all the States

north of South Carolina and Alabama, as was done by the former State and Georgia at the time of the formation of the Constitution. They desire to free themselves from the necessity for paying high prices for Virginia slaves, when Africans can be bought at low ones, and they therefore repudiate altogether the idea of having her or Kentucky, North Carolina or Tennessee, in the new Union, that is, as we are told, to people "the noble region of the tropics;" to "control" their productions, "and with them the commerce of the world." "We will not have them," say they—"we do not want them; we desire to have no grain-growing State; Virginia and South Carolina may go where they please, but they *shall not* be admitted to our companionship." Such are the circumstances under which Virginia now exists, and those who will reflect upon this will, as we think, come to the conclusion at which we long since have arrived, that it is not only absolutely impossible that any Southern Union should be formed embracing the States north of South Carolina and Alabama, but equally impossible that the present attitude of the extreme South should fail to produce in the more northern of the slave States a feeling of the necessity for strengthening themselves by an adoption of the policy of those north of them, with which their interests must, of necessity, continue to be connected.

THE REAL DISUNIONISTS.

The only States that can by any possibility secede from their connection with the North, are South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and the five States that have been formed from the territory purchased by the Union, *and mainly at northern cost*, for the South, to wit, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. These eight States, that now undertake to dictate the whole policy of the Union, contained at the last census four millions of persons, of whom nearly eighteen hundred thousand were property, enabling less than two and a quarter millions of whites to countervail in the House of Representatives the votes of three and a quarter millions of northern freemen. To the Senate they furnished sixteen members, while New York, and the two adjoining States, with almost seven and a half millions of people, *none of whom are property*, gave but six, and thus it has been that this population, so insignificant in point of numbers or wealth, has been enabled to tax the North for the accomplishment of its purposes.

The South, the formidable South, of which we hear so much, constitutes then, at the present moment, so far as the white population, which is the element of strength, *less than one-tenth of the Union*, but so far as regards the black population, which is the element of weakness, it is more than one-half of the Union.

The North, the poor and contemptible North, that lives, as we are told, upon the contributions of the South, possesses at this moment twenty millions of free white people who sell their own labor, while it contains but a million and a half of men, women, and children, of the class whose labor is sold by others. To compare the two, as regards strength, would be to compare the infant with the full-grown man, or the pygmy with the giant; and yet, this weak and insignificant South has been permitted to direct, and does now direct, the policy of the Union. Sinbad like, the North has permitted the South to mount its shoulders, and to play the part of "the old man of the sea," until northern patience has become at length exhausted, and northern men have begun to calculate the real strength of the faction by which their destinies have been so long determined.

The South desires now to purchase Cuba, to obtain possession of Hayti, to conquer Mexico, to add the British and French West Indies to the new Slave Republic; then to open the territory of the Amazon to cultivation by slaves, and thus, in concert with Brazil, to obtain, as it says, control of "the commerce of the world." Among the earliest of the measures required for the accomplishment of these great objects is the reopening of the African slave-trade, with the view to obtaining what is so much desired by English manufacturers and American planters, a cheap and abundant supply of slave labor.

This is a magnificent scheme, but what is it to cost, and whence are to come the means for its accomplishment? A hundred millions have already been

offered by the South for Cuba alone, and the price of two hundred and fifty millions has since been mentioned. To purchase the control of Hayti would require many millions, and yet this would constitute but a very small portion of the very numerous millions that would be required for reintroducing slavery into the other islands, and for re-establishing the slave-trade in the face of the unanimous decision of the world, that it is to be regarded as piracy, and treated as such. To do all this would require fleets and armies of great power, and if we add the cost of them to payments for land, it will, we think, be fair to say that the scheme of the South cannot be carried into effect at a smaller cost than fifty millions of dollars a year, in addition to the ordinary expenditures of government. Since the South obtained control in 1829, it has swelled the expenditures from twelve millions to more than forty, and there is no reason to doubt that if southern domination be continued, they will be swelled to seventy, or fifty millions more than would be required for the maintenance of a government administered on northern principles.

In the event of secession, however, the South—that is to say the people of the eight States of the extreme South—would have to pay for the cost of carrying out their schemes; and we may, therefore, properly inquire into the extent of their means for doing this. They have about two and a half millions of bales of cotton to sell, and at present prices those may be set down at about ninety millions of dollars. The sugar trade would perish from the moment of secession, and the sugar planters would be driven to cotton, the effect of which would be a large reduction in its price. We will, however, admit that the new Republic may export cotton and rice to the amount of a hundred millions of dollars, or twenty-five dollars per head of its free and slave population, and that is certainly the highest estimate that can be made. With this hundred millions it will have to purchase its silks and its laces, its cottons and woollens, its wagons, carriages, and furniture; its axes and ploughs, its mules and horses, and much of its food, and when these shall be paid for there will remain small means for maintaining the fleets and armies required for carrying into effect its numerous and extensive schemes of aggrandizement. It has now entire freedom of trade in by far the largest part of all the commodities required for its consumption, but under its new system, a duty of fifty per cent. upon all the commodities that entered within its limits would by no means suffice for its expenditures. The first act of the new “free trade” Union would, of necessity, be an increased interference with trade.

The southern mode of carrying on a government is, however, chiefly by aid of loans. Under the northern system, that prevailed from 1829 to 1833, we paid off our debt. Under the southern one, that prevailed from 1834 to 1842, we contracted a new debt at six per cent., after having paid off one at three per cent. Under the tariff of 1842, we commenced anew to reduce the debt, but when the South again obtained control of the government, we ran again into debt for the maintenance of war for the accomplishment of southern objects. Such being the case, we may reasonably suppose that the new slave republic would, in the outset, endeavor to stretch its credit, and thus as far as possible avoid the necessity for taxation. Here, however, it would encounter great difficulties. Of the eight States there are three that have not yet paid their old debts; and until they shall do so, they will never be permitted to contract a new one. Texas, Mississippi, and Florida are now in a state of repudiation, and they would constitute three-eighths of the new republic. Such a Union would have no credit even for the most laudable purposes, and still less when its object was boldly proclaimed to be to “reopen the African slave-trade,” to “preserve domestic servitude,” and to “defy the power of the world.” The commercial credit of such a community would be on a par with that of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, or any other piratical State. Neither Europe nor America would lend money for the promotion of such objects, particularly when it was clearly seen that the only effect of the accomplishment of southern schemes would be to increase the quantity of southern produce pressing on the market, and to diminish its price. Every capitalist knows well that the larger the quantity of a commodity that must be sold, the poorer and more dependent must become its producer. Every such man applied to for a loan would see that the whole tendency of southern projects was towards increasing the competition for the sale of southern pro-

ducts, the *only ones whose prices are even now falling, notwithstanding the increased production of gold*, and that every step in that direction must increase the dependence of their producers. The South could therefore effect no loans, and were it to attempt to raise by taxation the means required for carrying out its schemes, it would drive its population back to the North as the only means of escape from the oppressions of the slave republic.

Such a Union would be utterly powerless, and we may, therefore, rest secure that it will never be formed. The North has thus far carried the South on its shoulders, and so it is bound to do in all time to come. It has purchased its lands, maintained the fleets and armies required for its purposes, and stood between it and the public opinion of the world, while maintaining the value of its commodities and giving value to its labor and land. During the whole of this period, it has borne unmeasured insolence, and has, for the sake of peace, permitted its whole policy to be governed by a body of slaveholders amounting to but little more than a quarter of a million in number. It has made one compromise after another, until at length the day of compromise has past, and has given place to the day on which the South and the North—the advocates of slave labor on the one side and of free labor on the other—are now to measure strength, and we trust it *will* be measured.

Falstaff was strong in words, but weak in action. So is it with the South, whose every movement betokens conscious weakness. For a quarter of a century past she has been holding conventions, at which it has been resolved that Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah *should* become great commercial cities, which obstinately they refuse to be. She has resolved upon all kinds of expedients for raising the price of cotton, which yet is lower by one-third than it was twenty years since. She has resolved to suppress the discussion of slavery, and the discussion is now more rife than ever before. She has resolved upon becoming strong and independent, but is now more dependent on the forbearance of the world than in any time past. Under such circumstances, there need be small fear of her secession from that North which has so long stood between her and ruin. The irritability of our southern friends is evidence of conscious weakness, and while that irritability shall continue, the danger of dissolution will continue to be far distant.

The Union *must* be continued until at least the South shall have had the opportunity for taxing the North for the accomplishment of its projects. *Until then, the Union cannot be dissolved.* Such being the case, the real friend of the Union is he who opposes the annexation of Cuba and Hayti, and the extension of slavery; and the real disunionist is he who advocates compliance with southern demands. Thus far, all the measures adopted for the promotion of southern objects have been followed by increased abuse and increased threats of separation, and such will certainly be the case with all such future ones. To preserve the Union, it is required that the North should insist on its rights, and determine to refuse the admission of any more such States as Florida and Arkansas as offsets against such as Illinois and Michigan. To preserve the Union, it is required that eighteen millions of northern men should refuse to be ridden over rough-shod by two millions of southern men voting for *themselves and their property*. To preserve the Union, it is required that we go back to that fundamental principle of our system which says that the majority, and not the minority, shall rule. To preserve the Union, it is required that the freemen of the North should insist on having the government administered in the interests of freedom, as counselled by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, refusing any longer to permit it to be administered in the interests of the Calhouns, the Butlers, and the Toombses, who would perpetuate the system under which men, their wives, and their children are hunted by bloodhounds and sold like cattle in the market. The more fixed and united the northern people show themselves to be—the more strenuously they resist the addition of any more slave territory or the admission of any new slave States—the longer and the more certain will be the endurance of the Union. The only real disunionists of the country, north of Mason and Dixon's line, are the political doughfaces like Pierce, Douglass, and Richardson, and the commercial doughfaces like many we could name, who sell themselves to the South for the promotion of those objects on which southern madmen now are bent.